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HARVARD STUDIES IN  
CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

VOLUME 71



HARVARD STUDIES  
IN  
CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

VOLUME 71



CAMBRIDGE  
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1967

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MADE AND PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED  
LONDON AND BECCLES

## PREFATORY NOTE

The *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* are published by the authority of the President and Fellows of Harvard College on behalf of the Department of the Classics. Publication is assisted by the generosity of the Class of 1856, as well as by other gifts and bequests.

Although the chief purpose of the *Harvard Studies* is to publish articles by instructors and graduate students at Harvard, scholars in other institutions are invited to submit articles. Manuscripts should be sent to The Editorial Committee, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 320 Boylston Hall, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

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## POLITICS AND EARLY ATTIC TRAGEDY

JOHN H. FINLEY, JR.

ONE resumes with apology the much discussed question of the political bearing of Greek tragedy. I begin with the truism that neither early Greek poetry nor tragedy itself would have flourished as they did, had poets or auditors been accustomed to think in the lucidities of logical prose. Myth was the general vehicle because it expressed the mind of an age, reared on song and dance, that saw the world through people and situations, not through defined ideas. This is not to say that ideas were lacking to such a mind, only that they were, so to speak, forever embedded in the color and mood of situation. Plato was later to call this mode of thought the mode of opinion rather than of knowledge,<sup>1</sup> and it is true that it lacked the precision of reference, the capacity for signifying one thing only and not something else, which philosophers and logicians were to admire as the sole reliable ground of inference. But the earlier mode, which may be called the mode of mythological as contrasted to conceptual thought, had this advantage that it did not eschew the show of things and the emotion that they inspire in favor of their presumed definability. Rather it included image, moral tone, emotion, and idea bound inextricably together in its language of people and situations. Since the consciousness itself seems to move in this composite way and few ideas are uncolored by the hue of circumstance, this mode of mythic thought possessed in power and suggestiveness what it lacked in precision. Myth is the matrix of still unisolated ideas; and, as we all know, the marvel of early Greek poetry — or part of the marvel — is that its mythic situations are not random or minor but in themselves constate categories of human situation toward time, the gods, the state, moral choice, other people, and much else which are as central, if not so precisely defined, as were to be the categories logically constated by philosophers.

It follows that the political ideas of Aeschylus and Sophocles may be expected to have revealed themselves less by delimited opinion or defined statement than through a more diffused tone of mythic stance. It may even be improper to ascribe isolated political views to them, as if, like contemporaries of Thucydides, they marked off a sphere of

action that they thought concerned the state as contrasted to others that concerned individuals. Euripides comes much nearer making this distinction, and his judgment in the *Andromache* of Spartan tortuosity, the elaborate political discussion of the first half of his *Suppliants*, the appeal to patriotism in the lost *Erechtheus*, have a form and specificity that like much else in Euripides show him the pupil of the nascent age of definition.<sup>2</sup>

A notable bond between the *Oresteia* and the *Antigone* is their joint concern for two seemingly opposed political attitudes, the conservative and the innovating. Apollo, in the *Eumenides* the champion as against the Furies of a radical new order, by no means wholly wins. If the claims of freely achieved choice that he advocates and that he sees prefigured in the marriage of Zeus and Hera are in fact judged to outweigh those of inheritance, the decision is narrow, and inheritance too keeps its force in the authority of the Areopagus and in the pious dread that will continue to invest it.<sup>3</sup> Conversely Antigone, though confronted by a definition of the state as in itself wholly authoritative, urges in the ἄγραπτα καὶ σφαλῆ θεῶν νόμιμα commands that antecede any existent regimen,<sup>4</sup> and by her death and its consequences redefines the state as including these timeless mandates. As a woman and because burial peculiarly concerns the continuing and interior life of the family, she from any schematic point of view logically stands on the conservative side of the Furies of the *Oresteia* — yet with this difference that, whereas Aeschylus describes the emergence of a new society from the old, Sophocles treats the persistence of the old society in the new. Aeschylus writes with the eye of hope, Sophocles in a mood of retention. But both convey by mythic situation a view of the Athenian democracy as not wholly innovating — on the contrary, as drawing its force in an essential part from ancient outlooks to which it gives full and free assent. To judge by these plays, one should not conceive the Athens of these years as, in its image of itself, boldly novel, rather as having devised in democracy a means of perpetuating and enhancing, not of breaking, ties with the longer past.

This view seems confirmed by certain Spartan overtones in the opposite positions that are in both cases rejected. In the *Archaeology*, Thucydides speaks of the Spartans as the first Greeks to have laid aside elaborate dress and other marks of wealth and to have dwelt in the modern manner *isodiattoi* with one another.<sup>5</sup> He evidently judged Sparta, though in his own day rigid and antiquated in some respects (or so he later has the Corinthians allege),<sup>6</sup> nevertheless the first modern state to have broken decisively with the past. The reason for finding in Creon's position in the *Antigone* something of this abrupt tone of

Spartan innovation is the evident parallel between his opening speech in the play and the two speeches of Archidamus in Thucydides, especially the first one.<sup>7</sup> Both the mythical Theban and the actual Spartan king expound the priority of the state to the citizen, the paramount need of discipline, and the bad effect of private ideas on military performance. Creon's views are anticipated in the *Ajax* by Menelaus and Agamemnon, the former of whom is called Spartan.<sup>8</sup> Sophocles clearly thought oligarchic the positions of Creon and the Atreidae that Antigone and Teucer resist.

It will hardly be judged that Apollo in the *Oresteia* expresses this rigid mood of innovation to the same degree and with the same harshness. The trilogy hails the liberating changes of a new age which Apollo, as the inspired son and voice of Zeus himself, both proclaims and helps effect. Moreover, unlike the Sophoclean kings, he is a god and no doubt to Aeschylus wears the supernal colors of a thousand mysterious associations. But it is apparent after all that Apollo is by himself helpless to achieve the solution of the trilogy; he in fact only intensifies its conflicts and in his language toward the Furies shows an intransigence which, if it were to prove victorious purely by itself, would leave a dark residue of hate and frustration. Even early in the trilogy he appears toward Cassandra as the god of almost brutal change; he is to her much what the raw and novel Zeus of the *Desmotēs* is to Prometheus. Aeschylus surely did not feel toward him the unfeigned devotion that in Pindar wells forth toward the Pythian god in purest outpourings of dependence and gratitude.<sup>9</sup> Such emotions are obscure, and one will hardly pontificate on why Aeschylus seems thus cool to Apollo. His allegiance is obviously to Athene; perhaps, as with Pindar, the heart can entertain only one such final loyalty. But Apollo was also notably a Dorian god; his part in founding Sparta and in forming her *agoge*, his prompting of Cleomenes not only to the first happy but to the second unhappy expedition to Athens in 510 and 508, the Spartan delay at Marathon by reason of the Carneian festival, Delphi's frail record in the years of Salamis and Plataea — none of these events and associations seem such as to have aroused feelings of devotion in Aeschylus. In sum, though less sharply contrasted to Athene in the *Eumenides* than are Creon and the Atreidae to Sophocles' Antigone and Teucer, Apollo nevertheless wears in the trilogy an obdurate and innovating abruptness which has a Dorian tone and which is untouched by the mood of conciliation. To repeat, the mood of Aeschylus and of Sophocles differs in these plays; the older man greets change with joyous hope, the younger clings stubbornly to an ancient faith. But they are at one in portraying the



democracy as some sort of union of old with new, a constitution and outlook which by no means wholly express change. On the contrary, raw change seemed to them, as Thucydides suggests, an oligarchic and Spartan stance; to their minds the Athenian democracy drew its force partly from deeper wells of an older and what they thought more spontaneous reverence.

Now if the language by which this political outlook declares itself is that of mythic situation rather than of express statement, of figure and tone rather than of definition, the same is true of the final solutions, of the *Oresteia* especially. Professor K. J. Dover, to be sure, has noted with his usual acuteness that Athene's command in the *Eumenides* not to infect the Areopagus with new and untried practices — *κακὰς ἐπιρροαῖσι* — need not signify a conservative position, since warning against innovations, *ἐπιθετα*, appears in Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia* as equally a democratic slogan.<sup>10</sup> To this extent Aeschylus may be using the language of current politics, not of myth. Yet the major solution is purely mythological in the regained harmony with nature that it proclaims. The Furies, now Eumenides, invoke their blessings: blight shall not infect bud and blossom, girls shall find husbands, children prosper, civil war fade, concord reign.<sup>11</sup> This kinship with blooming nature is the final vision of a polity that has reconciled innovation with piety, has made place for independent choice but has allied it with received legacies. The language is visionary; as said, Aeschylus evidently did not mark off politics as a sphere separate from individual behavior and personal effort. As the clan of the Pelopidae had moved from Agamemnon's harsh self-aggrandizement, through Clytemnestra's guilty obsession with family and house, to Orestes' new and publicly achieved freedom and innocence, so Athens as a whole and Athenians individually are to find in the freely given yield of nature a creativity that includes the family and that morally reassures effort because it works with, not against, nature. The almost messianic tone of this fulfillment declares the subsuming of the old into the new and the harmony of both in natural process. Sophocles, needless to say, is much less lyrical. The jangling cry of birds which in the *Antigone* declares nature out of joint because Polyneices is unburied is the obverse of the union and peace with nature declared in the *Eumenides*.<sup>12</sup> But Creon is shown blind and limited; and, though at the cost of Antigone's death, the state will recognize its deeper basis in familial piety. The myth declares in both men's minds a constitution both new and old, both innovating and, because free, free to keep the lessons but not the bitterness of the past.

## II

To return now to the beginning and make a new start: if the mythological thought of the early age habitually used the language of myth and situation, it obviously did so in part through lack of concepts and of the words with which to express them. But since words are necessary to ideas and one cannot even recognize a thought without language with which to describe it, this lack of words forces a kind of groping, a reaching toward novelty that one cannot define or call by a proper name. The problem is not confined to the early Greeks. Since we are not today quite what we were yesterday nor is the present quite the past, we cannot wholly recognize today by yesterday's language. Though in our egregiousness we assume that we understand and can declare what we are seeing and doing, memory of even recent decades reminds us that we in fact rely on certain terms that were only lately hit upon and that our parents at our age could not have used. People a century hence will doubtless speak as a matter of course of things that we are today undergoing but for lack of words cannot know that we are undergoing. How then does novelty find conscious voice when, by definition, it has no name and cannot be recognized? In the mystery of this process lies much of the nature and function of poetry — indeed of science if, as some hold, its advances ultimately reflect a leap of the imagination. Expecting to say something, a man says something else which is not quite the same and which he had not foreseen. According to Socrates in the *Apology*, he does not fully know what he has said —<sup>13</sup> necessarily so, since if he had known from the first what he would say, it would have been in yesterday's words and would not fully have described today. The best poetry is the voice of the true but hitherto unrecognized today. Hence it habitually proceeds by atmosphere and suggestion, intuitively stating by a kind of circumlocution the new realities for which it lacks full language. But within a few years the fresh words appear, sometimes from the poets themselves, and men use as common currency ideas that a past generation stumbled to formulate.

Now the gifted Professor Lloyd-Jones has held that Aeschylus' Zeus is not an evolutionary god, that the Aeschylean doctrine of *pathei mathos* quite simply repeats Hesiod's adage *παθὼν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω*, and that to imagine something like a Platonic or Hebraic monotheism in Aeschylus is a delusion.<sup>14</sup> With due respect one wonders whether the older estimate is quite so at fault. To begin with the idea of progress, it became almost a truism to the next two generations: was essential to the *meliorism* of Protagoras and Democritus, appears in the famous ode

of the *Antigone* on mankind's astonishing powers, is advanced by Theseus against the pessimistic Adrastus in Euripides' *Suppliants*, is the leading idea of Thucydides' *Archaeology* and a chief idea of the Funeral Oration, and in the opening sections of *Concerning Ancient Medicine* proclaims the author's belief in the medical progress of his day.<sup>15</sup> Yet neither the idea nor its terminology can have been easy for Aeschylus. Though in Pindar mankind has reason to be grateful for the beneficent legacy of gods and heroes, and history is thus a kind of accumulated indebtedness, no brilliant light hails a superior present. How different is Aeschylus' mood. Whatever views one may have of the dates of the Danaid and Promethean trilogies, it is clear that either throughout his creative life or in his later years he found in the trilogy the vehicle of his vision of time's ameliorating process. The union of Hypermnestra and Lynceus at the end of the *Danaides*<sup>16</sup> delivers early Greece from provincialism, replaces bloodshed by amity, and brings to Argos a Zeus-sprung line which will show in the future acts of Perseus and Heracles something of the father's widening purpose. In the *Prometheia* Zeus and Prometheus will each eventually give up his first obduracy, and in the *Oresteia* the principles of government and community, corrupted in Agamemnon by his will to royal wealth and expressed at the cost of nature and family, will be reconciled in the Areopagus and the prayers of the Eumenides with natural growth. This poetic and mythological vision of progress is the circumlocution for the as yet unexpressed doctrine of progress which the next generation was to put into common words.

Since in these years before the age of definition Aeschylus, unlike Euripides, may not greatly have distinguished between the spheres of public and of private life, his doctrine of *pathei mathos* was the private corollary of this public faith. Granted that the words are Hesiodic, granted also that Agamemnon in his sudden death had small time to profit from suffering's instruction, yet it seeps — *σπάζει δ' ἄνθ' ὕπνου* — into Clytemnestra by nightmare and into Orestes by long travel<sup>17</sup> and, what is as important, into the Athenian mind by comprehension. Catharsis, private and personal in Aristotle, is public in Aeschylus. Zeus himself is the poet's obvious term for this inclusive process of gain and instruction. Society cannot advance without Zeus advancing, though Aeschylus would presumably have put it the other way around. The close similarity between the so-called Hymn to Zeus in the *Agamemnon* and the lines near the start of the *Suppliants* in which the fugitives invoke the great god's inscrutable intention breathe a wind of unplumbed, advancing purpose of which the end is not yet.<sup>18</sup> In language and reference Aeschylus perforce reverted to the received phrases that he

knew — these alone were the conscious legacy of his youth and training — but in direction and movement he put them to new use. This use was the trilogy, the convention that he made his vehicle, and he sanctioned the trilogy's movement toward growth and change by the growth and change of Zeus himself.

Sophocles, though in his soberer way, seeks like religious sanction for the democracy and by a like groping toward new terms. In the Thucydidean speech previously referred to, the Spartan Archidamus sharply rejects an attitude of mind that dares to question laws; Spartans are to obey unquestioningly, and the habit will be their salvation in battle.<sup>19</sup> The king is criticizing what he thinks the more sceptical attitude characteristic of democracies, and his opinion is shared by the Persian critic of democracy in Herodotus' famous debate on constitutions.<sup>20</sup> To the latter the inherent democratic weakness is its tendency to slip by means of *anomia* into *akolasia*. If, as seems the case, Pindar's reference in *P.2.87* to the *labros stratos* means democracy, Herodotus' Persian speaker holds much the same view. These three opinions are at one in holding the fatal democratic flaw to be its tendency to release men from the many laws by which their evil impulses might be checked. The outlook is pessimistic; it is assumed, much as by pseudo-Xenophon, that left to their own devices people will naturally pursue their private advantage, and order and honor will collapse. On this view, the virtue of oligarchy is to hold vicious human nature in the tight control of *nomoi*; any relaxation will produce *anomia*. If the Spartan *agoge* best illustrates this condition of checked and bridled human nature, Pindar's formal world of poetry, athletics, and military training implies a like strictness of upbringing. Only the *plousioi*, says pseudo-Xenophon, understand music and sport.<sup>21</sup>

It is against this background of fear and suspicion of human nature that the *agraphoi nomoi* of the *Antigone* and the Funeral Oration declare a more generous faith. If the Theseus of Euripides' *Suppliants* does not use these exact words, he too sees a divine intention whereby human powers are meant to be used and have achieved great gains, much in the manner described in the *Prometheus*.<sup>22</sup> The crux of the argument is confidence in human nature, and it relates to the *agraphoi nomoi* because, if critics of democracy asserted that lack of detailed regulation leads to chaos, friends of democracy might reply that freedom does not ultimately leave men unchecked — on the contrary, leaves them more purely responsive to the unwritten laws that lie at the heart of human nature. The faith that the heart thus instinctively heeds such interior checks is obviously optimistic, and since in both the *Antigone* and the



Funeral Oration the unwritten as contrasted to written and operative laws claim final allegiance,<sup>23</sup> one may see in them a statement of the confidence in human nature on which any democracy evidently rests. Such sweeping words have many possible implications, and in the *Memorabilia*<sup>24</sup> Socrates is presented as believing unwritten laws common to all humanity. His faith too is optimistic. But though we know little about the intellectual climate of the late 440's and cannot judge the degree of Sophocles' originality, it is clear that, in the mingledly conservative and innovating spirit described earlier, he by this half-poetic and unanalyzed term raised the conflict of the play to the universal plane not merely of freedom and authority but of faith and doubt about the springs of human impulse, hence of faith and doubt about the legitimacy of freedom.

He returned to these fundamental poetic terms in the *O.T.* in the famous chorus following Jocasta's doubt of the truth of oracles.<sup>25</sup> The chorus prays for piety of word and deed, of which laws exist, begotten in the sky and sired of Olympus, not mankind's creation and immune to forgetfulness; a great god lives in them who does not age. Their thoughts then veer to the tyrant, who is obviously not the admired and responsible Oedipus but a general prototype of the man who neglects these laws. Though he may climb to the topmost rung, they have faith to believe, he falls to ruin. From such thoughts they return to something like Athens. "I pray that god never destroy the rivalry that profits the state. I shall never cease holding god as my *prostates*." Both statements evoke the Funeral Oration, the former in its desire for a leadership freely open to competition, the latter in its sense of the kind of moral restraint that Pericles found in the unwritten laws. By the same token, the latter statement also echoes the *Antigone*. The interior mandates that guide men's conduct and safeguard the state draw from sources beyond the state. If this view reasserts the mingledly innovating and conservative vision of democracy with which we began, it expresses also the guiding awareness of inner laws which advocates of democracy could think stronger than the written stringencies of oligarchy. To repeat, Sophocles in these plays is less visionary than was Aeschylus in the *Eumenides*, but his faith is obviously as founded and, like Aeschylus, he does not think in the achieved language of definition but in a language of myth.

### III

Finally, to revert for a last time to the beginning, it is pleasant to try to imagine the processes of people's minds who, reared on myth and



deeply habituated to it, yet encounter and try to express novelty. Someone — I cannot now recall who — once fell into the charming aberration of likening Sophocles to Sir Walter Scott, evidently in a pro-Euripidean spirit. He thought that because, unlike Euripides, Sophocles did not allude transparently to issues of the day, he stood beyond them, lost in a vision of the heroic past which, if greater than Scott's, was as remote. But the view that Sophocles was moved by a mixture of art and retrospection overvalues defined, relatively to mythic, statement.

Pindar may give some clue to the working of the earlier cast of mind. Contemplating a victor, he evidently conceived him as from a certain city, reared at its cults and inspired by its heroes; his victory would in some sense be simultaneously theirs. Then he had more personal memories and impressions: for example, of the past adversity of the estimable Theban family of *I.3* and *4*, of the curious working of luck that had brought to Himera the Cretan exile of *O.12*, of the marriageable good looks of the young Cyrenaic victor of *P.9*, of the steady hopes of the Aeginetan Lampon validated in his victorious sons of *N.5*, *I.6* and *5*. He doubtless knew some of these men and families better than others, and friendship lent imaginative sympathy. Since the immense world of myth lay open to him and his mind gladly dwelt in it, he must then instinctively and by what one takes to be a quite unconscious leap have seen in myth the higher analogue and sanction of these near events — not, to repeat, in all myth since he thinks in the legends of local heroes, nevertheless in the figures and situations, partly national, partly religious, partly archetypal, of the illustrative past. In sum, he lifts the new present into some posture that he recognizes in the glorious past and conceives the former in the latter's radiance.

Sophocles' process of thought, if more formally structural, more sensitive to the emergent ideas that he met in Athens, seems at bottom to have resembled Pindar's. If for two chief reasons the *O.T.* seems dated in the early 420's — the plague and the close echo of the argument from *eikos* to that in the *Hippolytus* of 428 —<sup>26</sup> what would then have been the mood of Athens? The intellectual Pericles, the friend of Protagoras and Anaxagoras, whose strategy of retaliatory raids on the Peloponnesus was indeed to be vindicated at Pylos a few years later, had died without such vindication and in the apparent ruin of his confident promises. There may be no harsher contrast in literature than that in Thucydides between the golden confidence of the Funeral Oration and the ensuing blackness and helplessness of the plague, in which Pericles himself, according to Thucydides, saw the stroke of *to daijmonion*.<sup>27</sup> Sophocles' joyous hyporchemes, one may parenthetically

note, effect just such a quick reverse of brightness into disaster. If even the wisest and most disinterested leader had not foreseen the epidemic that would attend the crowding of the population within the walls and if what was to be his famous Thucydidean attribute of *prognosis* had proved incomplete, what final trust could be placed in human foresight? Now it is not in the least being argued that Oedipus represents Pericles — such positivistic, almost photographic, procedures are surely remote from Sophocles' mythic mode of thought — rather that he felt in the disaster the inscrutability of things and forcibly recognized our human *amechanie*. Unlike Pindar, Sophocles had before his mind a range of myth unchecked by local cult and tradition; but, like him, he thought by means of myth, hence in the present mood lifted the bitter reverse of expectation to its great paradigm in the person of Oedipus and wrote of him, not of Pericles, yet in writing of him described a human posture that was only too contemporary. It is in this sense that Sophocles is not at all Sir Walter Scott — on the contrary, he felt present moods with highest intuitive subtlety; since he inwardly lived in the world of myth, with perfect and, one assumes, unconscious naturalness he carried his present intuitions into that timeless world. It seems impossible, once he has taken his marvelous flight, to pursue it exactly and to ask how far the trait of slight pushing and excess that characterizes Oedipus and the indomitable will to comprehension that somehow relates to his uneasiness were traits that Sophocles recognized in the present, conceivably in Pericles. Such questions are lost in the independent life of the play. They are of course Athenian questions and describe a world in which Pericles had lately lived, but more precise answers fail, leaving only the major echo in the play of the tragic reverse of these years.

Like judgments may be made of the earlier *Ajax* and *Antigone*. The *Trachiniae* by contrast seems to reflect a newly felt sense of cleavage and divorce between public and private spheres of life which forced itself to attention in the 430's and of which Euripides was the spokesman. As the *O.T.* seems connected in a higher and mythic way with the Athens of Pericles' death, so the *Ajax* and *Antigone* seem inspired to some unknown but real degree by the Athens respectively of Cimon's death and the ostracism of Thucydides the son of Melesias. To touch on the latter first, it has already been argued that the *Antigone* not only, like the *Oresteia*, treats the mingled innovation and conservatism of the Athenian polity but in the unwritten laws constates the faith in human nature which is the final sanction of freedom; it is paradoxically through her conservatism that *Antigone* asserts freedom against the force of

current law. Now if, as Plutarch describes,<sup>28</sup> those factions in Athens that resented the Periclean democracy found in the near disaster of the abortive Spartan invasion of 446 and more particularly in the new plans to spend funds of the Delian League on the Parthenon a rallying cry against both the leader and the form of government, Pericles' lack of election in 444 seems to signify a mood of doubt. Sophocles owed his election to the generalship (probably in 440),<sup>29</sup> says the Argument of the play, to its popular success, and since in the final test in 443 Thucydides the son of Melesias was ostracized and Pericles returned to office, it is hard not to see Sophocles as sharing in this tide of affirmation. He held the office of Hellenotamias in 443/2,<sup>30</sup> and his friendship with Herodotus seems to date from these years.<sup>31</sup> Since the founding of Thurii, also in 443, was wholly or largely a Periclean venture in which the historian shared,<sup>32</sup> this fact casts further light on the poet's sympathies. The burden of the *Antigone* is certainly anti-oligarchic, but as with the *O.T.* one should not regard it as in any way a tract for the times, rather as lifting present issues to another realm and pursuing them for themselves on that independent plane. Antigone as a character follows the laws of her own being; Sophocles seems quite simply not to have conceived reality through other terms than those of the mythic figure. These were his true vision, but it would have been less powerful, had it not given shape to the present reality that he knew about him.

Finally, the *Ajax* has long prompted suggestion of Cimon,<sup>33</sup> for many reasons: through his death in Cyprus after the eclipse of his ostracism and in the decline of a great career, because the Philaidæ claimed descent from Ajax, and more generally because a man of his downright and old-fashioned cast seems progressively less at home in the developing Athens. His archaic virtues evoke, so to speak, the Aeginetan marbles in the age of the Parthenon. Professor N. O. Brown some years ago ably argued a reply in the *Ajax* to Pindar's *N.8*,<sup>34</sup> the melancholy but beautiful ode which sees in the triumph of the clever Odysseus and the unjust defeat and death of Ajax the victory of suppleness and chicane in a new world increasingly dominated by Athens. Without agreeing with his views on the date of the ode and hence of the play, one may wholeheartedly admire his argument. Wilamowitz long ago magisterially stated two facts of Athenian life: that in the early decades of the fifth century the hoplite class in Athens — the class that proved its worth at Marathon — was so strong that Pindar in two Aeginetan odes must apologize that athletic trainers necessarily come from Athens,<sup>35</sup> but that in the bowmen Teucer of the *Ajax* and Heracles of the *Heracles Mad* a new class later appears, the class that was to

prove itself at Sphacteria.<sup>36</sup> The final scene of the *Ajax* asserts both the new Athens and the persistence of the old. Around the bier of the stalwart Ajax, the prototype of hoplites, stand the ill-born bowman Teucer and Ajax' wife and son, Tecmessa and Eurysaces; Odysseus, a man of mind deeply aware of time and change, who by this awareness had resisted the narrow Atreidae, though absent from the bier had made possible the burial. It is a kind of *concordia ordinum*, a union of hoplite, bowman, family, and sceptical man of intellect; they jointly describe Athens. Greece, to Sophocles' view, was not slipping into a supple standardlessness, as Pindar had asserted in *N.8*; Athens has kept in her joint regard for the old-fashioned hoplite and still older family, yet also for the new bowman and the new man of intellect, a humanity more widely based than that of any past age. Again, the play is about Ajax the man and hero who pursues, as on Exekias' vase, his necessary life. Sophocles, like Aeschylus before him, did not write about the present, much less about ideas, but states in his mythic situations the emergent reality of his day.

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## NOTES

This paper was delivered at the Fourth International Congress of Classical Studies at Philadelphia in September, 1964.

1. E.g., *Rep.* 6.506c6-9, 508d4-9.
2. *Andromache* 445-63; *Suppliants* 403-55; *Erechtheus*, *Frag.* 62 (Nauck).
3. *Eumenides* 213-18, 681-706.
4. *Antigone* 450ff.
5. 1.6.4.
6. 1.71.2.
7. Thucydides 1.80-85 (esp. 84.3-4), 2.11. *Antigone* 163-91, 666-76.
8. *Ajax* 1071-86, 1102 for Menelaus, 1226-63 for Agamemnon.
9. *P.* 3.27-30, *P.* 5.63-69, *P.* 9.43-49, *Paeon* 6.1-18.
10. "The Political Aspect of Aeschylus's *Eumenides*," *JHS* 77 (1957) 230-37. *Eumenides* 694, *Ath. Pol.* 25.2.
11. *Eumenides* 938-1020.
12. *Antigone* 998-1032.
13. *Apology* 22b-c.
14. "Zeus in Aeschylus," *JHS* 76 (1956) 55-67. *Works and Days* 218.
15. Plato *Protagoras* 320d-328c. For discussion of the relevant fragments of Protagoras and Democritus, see E. A. Havelock, *The Liberal Temper in Greek Politics* (Yale Univ. Press, 1957), chs. iv-vi. *Antigone* 332-64, *Suppliants* 195-218, Thucydides 1.1-19, 2.35-46, esp. 36-41.
16. *Frag.* 44, Murray's Oxford Text, p. 50.



17. *Agamemnon* 179, ἐν θ' ὕπνῳ codd.; *Choephoroe* 32-41, 535-39; *Eumenides* 276-81.
18. *Agamemnon* 160-83, *Suppliants* 86-103.
19. 1.84.
20. 3.81.
21. *Ath. Pol.* 1.13.
22. *Suppliants* 195-218, *Prometheus* 442-71.
23. *Antigone* 450-60, Thucydides 2.37.3.
24. 4.4.19.
25. *O.T.* 863-82.
26. *Hippolytus* 993-1020, *O.T.* 584-602.
27. 2.64.2.
28. *Pericles* 12.
29. Schmid-Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* (München 1934) II 317 n.7.
30. *Ibid.*, 318 n.7.
31. He was fifty-five when he wrote his epigram to Herodotus. Plutarch *An Seni Resp. Ger.* 785b.
32. A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* (Oxford 1945) I 386.
33. C. H. Whitman, *Sophocles* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1951) 45.
34. "Pindar, Sophocles and the Thirty Years' Peace," *TAPA* 82 (1951) 1-28.
35. *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922) 170.
36. *Euripides, Herakles* (new ed. 1959) II 139-40.



## THE NORM OF MYTH: EURIPIDES' *ELECTRA*

MASAAKI KUBO

EURIPIDES' *Electra* has been known for such remarkable features as these—that the play is an attack upon Aeschylus; that the attack has been launched from a modernistic ground; and that Euripides, pursuing his relentless realism, denigrated the spirit of tragedy and degraded it to a study of criminal psychology. But in every respect Euripides proved himself far inferior to Aeschylus' gigantic stature. Euripides' heroine turned out to be a pugnacious woman who savagely wants to slaughter her own mother. The lament of the *Choephorae* was replaced by a pretty chorus of country maidens, who sing remote mythical narrative songs in the style of the New Attic dithyrambs. The drama and grief of the tragic myth now recoiled into a cold-blooded mechanema, which sprang from hatred, envy, and calculation. And this grim crime takes place not in the grand Mycenaean palace, but in a shack quite far removed from any heroic association. These features mark only a few of Euripides' major misdeeds in the *Electra*, and on such grounds as these the less pertinent problem of "Die beiden Electra" stirred the only noticeable controversy about the play.<sup>1</sup>

Our present approach to the *Electra* is confined to a much narrower scope. We are concerned with the basic hypothesis which underlies Euripides' alleged misdeeds. We propose to examine three technical arrangements of the play: the scenic background, the mechanema, and the agon. Our choice of the three elements is not arbitrary, because we may add or subtract anything we choose without altering the structural balance of the play, so long as we keep the three kernel elements of the play intact. Of these three, the mechanema occupies the pivotal point. So let us first try to construe the exact shape of Electra's intrigue.

### ELECTRA'S MECHANEMA

At line 652 Electra breaks the stichomythia. This is a violence, as noted by editors; for a break in stichomythia normally takes place at the beginning or the end, never in the middle. Electra's behavior is flatly against statistics. Moreover, λέγ' in 651 and ἀπάγγελ' in 652 without

any connective are said to be displeasing. So Gross rules that Electra's break is impossible, and that it is better to assume a lacuna after 651 than to accept Weil's ἔχω·γεραιέ, τάδε in 651.<sup>2</sup> The lacuna theory is reinforced by Denniston's dramaturgical reason: that the present passage, being quiet and even flat, hardly warrants such a break. The lines contain Electra's idea of how to entrap her mother:

'Ηλ. λέγ', ὦ γεραιέ, τάδε Κλυταιμήστρα μολών·  
λεχώ μ' ἀπάγγελλ' οὔσαν ἄρσενος τόκῳ. (651-52)

The partner in this conversation is the Old Man. He cannot understand how this plot will make Clytaimnestra come. With a tone of surprise and doubt, he questions Electra why such news would lead Clytaimnestra to death (655). Electra answers, repeating that the news will bring her mother to the spot (656). The Old Man insists, "Why, do you think that your mother cares about you?"; and Electra replies, "Yes" (657-58).

Thus, on account of 651-52 not only the stichomythia, but even the communication of the two speakers comes to a jolting halt. I propose to examine the stylistic break in the light of the situational gap which follows it. The technique of creating such a gap at a crucial point of communication is a common device even in Aeschylus, as in *Prom. Vinc.* 519ff or *Cho.* 770ff. In these examples, the communication breaks down when one of the speakers hides a vital secret from the other. The break suddenly creates a sense of mysteriousness, or irony, depending upon the extent of the audience's knowledge about the hidden fact. *Cho.* 770ff is ironic, for the real situation is clearly known to the audience. *Prom. Vinc.* 519ff might have appeared more mysterious, had not the marriage of Thetis been closely associated with the Prometheus cycle in the audience's mind.

In Euripides' *Electra*, the effect of the break in communication must be still sharper. For, before the intrigue scene, the audience saw the triumph of the Old Man: his conviction and initiative led to the long-awaited anagnorisis. And in the first half of the intrigue scene, the Old Man stood over Orestes as a guide and gave him the news of Aegisthus' ceremonial activity in the field. In these consecutive scenes the Old Man's importance has become magnified step by step as his belief and knowledge has led the way for Electra and Orestes. But at the break, the cumulative effect comes to an abrupt end. The leading figure of the Old Man is completely mystified by Electra's idea in 651-52. He loses the sense of direction and falls to the level of a mere instrument. The content of lines 651-52 produces this sudden change.



The two lines, with or without a lacuna to separate them, dramatically shift the initiative from the Old Man to Electra. But this is not the most important effect. Out of the changed situation the audience is made to feel a paradox between Electra's *mechanema* and the Old Man's plain doubt. His logic is this: if Clytaimestra were a kind mother, she would come on hearing the news; but since she is not, she will not come. Against this, Electra's strong affirmative in 658 can only mean: Clytaimestra will come, not because she is a kind mother, but precisely because she is a cruel mother. Electra's logic is so strange that the Old Man fails to understand it. Yet his failure does not merely point at the improbability of Electra's plot but, on the contrary, helps to clarify the elliptic contours of her idea against what man normally takes for granted. Nor does Electra leave her audience entirely in the dark. For she says:

λεχώ μ' ἀπάγγελ' οὔσαν ἄρσενος τόκῳ. (652)

"Tell her that I gave birth to a child, a boy." The hint escapes one's notice if, as the Old Man does and as Electra misleadingly implies by her repetition, one takes *λεχώ* or *λόχεια* as the only point of importance and neglects the other emphatic word group, *ἄρσενος τόκῳ*. But, if we are to trace Electra's logic which mystified the Old Man, then we must think that the "boy," not the "birth," is more important. Electra believes that the news is powerful enough to cause Clytaimestra to come to see the "boy." So strong is her belief that she even omits her explicit invitation. Not because Clytaimestra is kindly disposed to the hypothetical child; on the contrary, the play has shown earlier how Electra's possible child, especially her male child, had caused many fears and precautions among her persecutors. The audience, if not the Old Man, knows this. It is not difficult for them to see that Electra has a good reason to believe that her mother is bound to come and spy on this dreadful object of fear. And, if she comes, she comes only with a pernicious intention. Solmsen has shown that the *mechanema* of a Euripidean hero constitutes an inseparable part of the contriver's ethos. Electra's *mechanema* in our play is certainly bound up with the heroine's bitter situation, but it is more intimately connected with the ethos of its victims, Clytaimestra and Aegisthus.<sup>3</sup>

The logic of Electra's design is complex, for it defines itself only negatively when the Old Man fails to grasp it. The subtle incisiveness of her dialectic makes us wonder if it was not too complex to reach the audience also. If the text is sound and if Electra does break the continuous *stichomythia* at 651-52, she is begging a heightened attention to the sound of her words. For here the regular rhythm breaks down

unexpectedly in order to accommodate a cryptic, pregnant line. The break then becomes a kind of acoustic underline, as in Sophocles' *O.T.* 571ff and Euripides' *Or.* 255ff. In the *Electra*, if Euripides availed himself of this rather rare technique, the reason must have been the subtlety of Electra's intrigue. The break is a warning to the audience of what lies ahead. Yet, if on the other hand her logic had been totally incomprehensible, then a subtle hint of this kind would not have sufficed to kindle the audience's imagination. Between these limits a likely hypothesis suggests itself. The situation in which Electra found herself in this play, and the situation out of which the logic of her mechanism formulated itself, must have been common enough in other cycles of the Greek myths, but it has not been immediately associated with Electra or Orestes.

It takes no great effort to find ancient parallels to the situation in which Electra found herself in the present play. The myth of a cruel parent persecuting his or her daughter in fear of a possible grandchild forms one of the most familiar types of all the Greek stories. To all levels of mythmaking the Greeks applied this common pattern. On the divine level we hear of Thetis' marriage to Peleus, which was arranged by the gods in fear of her possible son.<sup>4</sup> Among the heroes, the stories of Danae and Perseus or of the fatal exposure of Oedipus are the best known variations of the basically same theme of parental fear. In the realm of historical mythmaking, we are familiar with the same pattern as recounted by Herodotus in his tales of Cyrus the Great and of Cypselus, the Corinthian dynast.<sup>5</sup> In all these stories the parent, given a cause to fear the possible grandson, takes a measure to prevent his daughter from giving birth to such an object of fear. Individual names and minor details of each story naturally have their local significance, but the names cluster around the same psychological motivation of fear, and all the stories share a common moral: the persecutors are punished by the persecuted for their own cruel measures. It is not certain when and how the kernel pattern originated, but the mythical thinking on this particular psychological motif was widely current among the poets of archaic Greece.

Electra's logic seems to fall exactly into the basic pattern of such archaic myths. Her design becomes intelligible and mythically binding, when the audience can detect from the given clue an allusive mythical necessity. Clytaimnestra will come, precisely because she fits into the known mythical picture of a fearful and cruel parent who persecutes the daughter and the grandchild.

The play, seen from this pivotal point, resembles a surrealistic

picture composed of two separate perspectives. The two separate pictures, one taken from the title myth of *Electra* and the other from the common archaic pattern, are not related to each other when linearly placed, but they are here placed so as to merge as inseparable parts of a structural unity. The artist's trick is how to make one meet the other at the premeditated points. In the *Electra*, one of the points for the two myths to mesh seems to be set in line 652, where stichomythia breaks down against all statistics. Yet if this line were the only point where Euripides joined two perspectives together and where the audience can recognize the structure of the double myth, then it would be better for us to abandon our hypothesis and choose a less hazardous, well-trodden path. If the play, however, contains examples of similar techniques, then they too merit our consideration.

The famous image of the Gorgons which recurs in the *Electra* is often construed in a similar vein.<sup>6</sup> But in a more remarkable way Euripides surprises the audience by another use of the technique of double perspective in the stasimon following the anagnorisis-mechanema scene. The stasimon (699-746) centers upon the myth of the golden lamb which soon proved to be the arch-evil of the Tantalidae. Three generations ago, Pan had brought a golden lamb to the sons of Pelops as a symbol to settle their dispute about the kingship of Argos. Thematic relevance is clear, and significant word repetition in the lyric passages also has attracted some critics' notice. The thematic and stylistic features, however, have been interpreted only as showing Euripides' alleged tendency to be content with embolima, or to affect the style of New Attic dithyrambs.<sup>7</sup> But in order to understand Euripides' technique we must phrase our question differently and avoid mere pigeonholing. We must ask why Euripides chose to dwell so long on this particular myth, and for what end he chose to indent two parallel phrases in a pair of corresponding clausulae. In the MSS the words χρυσέαν ἄρνα and χρυσέας ἄρνός occur in lines 705 and 718 respectively, in exactly corresponding metrical positions.<sup>8</sup> To assess the effects of this contrivance, we must go back to the beginning of the anagnorisis scene, to the moment when the Old Man enters. He comes up the hill with a lamb and a few other gifts for *Electra's* guests (494-95). The audience sees the Old Man from the mountain, with a lamb in his hand, eager, and convinced that Orestes has returned. Led by his tenacious belief, in spite of all rational objections raised by *Electra*, the Old Man does recognize Orestes, the only rightful successor to the Argive throne. The recognition is then followed by the intrigue to undermine the usurpers. These scenes might have first appeared to the audience a bold

innovation. But if we are to trust our own eyes, the fact is that the Old Man with the lamb is the discoverer, and his conviction, if not proof, is based upon exactly the same evidence as that used by Aeschylus. This visual fact is then put directly under the lyric spotlight in the following stasimon.

The first strophic pair makes it clear that the development of the anagnorisis has been built according to the earlier myth of the golden lamb. In the older myth it was Pan ἀγρῶν ταμίας (704) who brought the symbol of royal identity to the scene, but now it is the Old Man near the river Tanaos who has brought the lamb and restored the identity of Orestes. As the lamb was the symbol of kingship three generations ago, so it remains the same symbol in the present event. The musical and metrical emphasis on the golden lamb could hardly be missed by the audience who saw the lamb in the Old Man's hand. The style and content of the stasimon thrill the audience with a fresh discovery that the scene visually acted an instant ago was not in reality Euripides' strange invention, but a theatral image projected and repeated from the older myth of the Pelopidae. The myth of Electra and Orestes identifies itself with a prototypal story of the golden lamb, and the older myth at the same time regenerates its essential clarity within the title myth of the play. The particular and elaborate phrasing of the first strophic pair may well bear some superficial resemblance to the style of New Attic dithyrambs; but the similarity does not arise from a mere affectation of the poet, but from his technical need to underline the living norm of the common archaic myth. Doubtless Euripides was intensely aware of his innovation in the structure of the anagnorisis. Yet his innovation, however rationally oriented it may now seem to us, sought its norm and justification in the realm of archaic myths.

Euripides' technique in the second stasimon shows at least one or two common traits with what we uncovered in Electra's mechanema. Euripides is prepared to use two separate myths, not merely as two linear segments of a mythical panorama, but more intently as two organically related perspectives. In both instances, the title myth identifies itself with another common archaic myth, and the older mythical norm regenerates its essential clarity within the structure of the title myth. The arrangement resembles a play within a play, a device to clarify the situation and allure the audience's imaginative participation. Plain logic, like the Old Man's in the mechanema scene, or *to eikos*, like Electra's argument based on rational similitude, while also deployed, do not force their way into the mythical norm and disparage its unity, but are only allowed so far as they help to underline the clarity of the myth.



If we seek more examples of the double perspective in Euripides, the *Medea*, *Hippolytus*, *Ion*, and *Helena* present adequate cases. We must, however, leave examinations of these plays for another occasion; now our task is to ask how far the double-perspective myths have affected the overall structure of the play.

### THE SCENIC BACKGROUND

The play seems to evoke a picture of a poor peasant's hut, of "a mere laborer, lower in the social scale than a yeoman farmer," as Denniston says. It is true that Orestes remarks that "someone like a digger or cow-herd deserves such a house as this" (252). Its impoverished state is stressed many a time by Electra herself (404ff, 1139-40). It is no doubt correct to say that the scene is assumed to be in front of the house where she lives with her nominal husband. If one still hesitates to state that the cottage and the rags are physically present, this is because of a vast factual uncertainty about the practice of the Greek theater, and also because one's better sense sometimes suggests that it may well be redundant to have both verbal and visual explanations overlapping one another.

First a brief attempt should be made to reconstruct the milieu of the play from the prologue. The first speaker — whose identity is revealed only much later — explains the circumstances which led Electra to her present station. After Agamemnon was murdered, "the daughter, Electra, remained in her father's house, but when the bloom of youth reached her, suitors came to woo her hand, noble princes from the land of Hellas. But Aegisthus feared lest her child, should it come from her royal marriage, might turn out to be Agamemnon's avenger; so he kept her at home, nor did he wish to arrange her marriage. But even so he was full of great fears, for she might give birth to some noble seed in secret. As he decided to kill her, her mother, savage woman though she is, took her away from Aegisthus' clutches." Aegisthus then contrived to diminish his fear, by giving her away in marriage to a man without resources, namely the prologue-speaker himself. Aegisthus' reasoning which forced the present circumstance upon Electra is of a quite familiar type, as we noted earlier, among the early mythical speculations. A similar arrangement was made for Labda, who was to become Cypselus' mother, and also for Mandane, the future mother of Cyrus. The basic pattern springs from the fear felt by the parent, who seeks to banish his daughter from the exclusive circle of the royal house. The myth built on this pattern often bears a clear stamp of a definite age and

society where such a fear was real, and where such a rigid class distinction was almost as secure as life itself, as in archaic Corinth or in Persia at the time of Astyages and Cambyzes. The pattern seems to have stimulated the thought of poets as late as Pindar in the eighth *Isthmian*, and possibly Aeschylus in the Prometheus trilogy. But the idea seems to have survived even later, for an almost exactly identical situation frames the prologue of the *Electra*. Since such a myth presupposes the giver who is of high station, a god or king, and the recipient who must be lower in scale, so here Electra's lot is clearly set between the superior giver Aegisthus and the inferior receiver, the man of noble birth but without resources. What surprises us is not the alleged modernness or realistic trivialities of Electra's circumstance, but its extreme archaism. The play certainly presents a "new situation," for one old myth is now being told and enacted within the frame of another equally old myth for the first time. But there seems to be nothing modern about the process of Euripides' mythmaking. To the fifth-century audience, such a marriage as Euripides put on his *Electra* would have appeared as ancient — or timeless, if you will — as the myth of *Electra* itself.

The prologue can be construed as a major part of the scenic background, for it is principally through the prologue speaker that we gain a glimpse into the clear frame of the myth. But we must not forget to consider another even more significant element when we construct our picture of the scene. It is the chorus, the solid physical presence of fifteen (or possibly twelve) singing, chanting, speaking, and dancing parts. To the audience of the play neither the "cottage" — even if it were there — nor even the speaker of the prologue would amount to much of visual significance, as soon as their sight and ears become dominated by the chorus. Even in modern productions, we are given many occasions to realize that the chorus not only defines the dramatic unity of time and space but also, in its beguiling simplicity, works upon the audience's imagination more effectively than most intricate modern stage mechanisms.

We find at least four instances in the *Electra* where the chorus asserts its crucial importance in our consideration of the scenic background. These examples seem to point to a totally different element in the play which the poet must have considered meaningful. The first is in the parodos: "O Agamemnon's daughter, Electra, we visit your rustic abode. A man of Mycenae, a mountain shepherd who drinks milk, has come and told us that now the Argives announce the festival in two days, and all the maidens are to take part in the procession in honor of Hera." With these words in lyric meter the chorus enters and

tells *Electra* the reason why it came: with the news of the festival and, as becomes clear in the antistrophe, with the invitation for *Electra*. But the Heraean festival is only briefly mentioned in the first strophic pair of the parodos and finds no second mention later. It may be that Euripides made use of this well-known occasion in order merely to add a drab local color to his "naturalistic" play. Or, perhaps, the colorful attire for the celebrated Anthesphoria worn by the chorus is so obvious that there might have been no need to mention the occasion again.<sup>9</sup> The presence of the Heraean chorus would have had more point if the scene had been in Samos, where the priestess of Hera was appointed from the daughters of the royal house. But *Electra* is not known to us in any connection with the cult of Hera. We should be content for the time being to note that the first light falls on the chorus in festive colors in contrast to *Electra* in her mourning dark.

The second example is the messenger coming in with the news of Orestes' victory and calling upon the chorus ὦ καλλίνικοι παρθένοι Μυκηνίδες (761). With these unexpected appellatives, the messenger quickly identifies them as a chorus of epinician celebration. The chorus does change after the messenger's speech. It plunges into a pair of strophes in dactylo-epitrites — a rare meter in tragedy — to celebrate Orestes' victory as greater than a victory at Olympia. Both the meter and diction seem to transport the chorus and its festive dress from the Heraea to an Epinicia. This might not have surprised us too much, had it not been for the peculiarly archaic form of the iambolyric dialogue which bears a special significance for the present scene. The form may be a deliberate archaism of Euripides, for it is especially common in the lyric dramas of Aeschylus, as in *Supp.* 348ff, *Pers.* 256ff, 694ff, *Sept.* 203ff, etc. But our passage differs from these earlier parallels at one remarkable point. In the Aeschylean passages the speaker of trimeters does not leave the scene until the chorus completes the antistrophe. But what is often thought to happen in the *Electra* — if it does happen actually — is the protagonist's departure from the scene before the chorus completes the antistrophe. At 870ff *Electra* says that she must take out some ornaments from her house to crown her victorious brother. And from this statement it is assumed that she rushes into the house, only to come back again with some trinkets before the chorus finishes the second half of the epirrhema. If this is the action actually staged by Euripides, then it is a strange disregard of the archaic resonance which the form of poetry clearly indicates. It destroys the carefully built epirrhematic form. The joyous vocatives *Electra* utters to open her trimetric parts both times (866 and 885-81) answer, at



least formally, the chorus' explicit exhortation to Electra to join the Epinicia. If on the other hand the formal archaic symmetry should be observed in stage action as well as in poetry, then the audience would see Electra on the scene throughout the epirrhema. She did not have to leave, although staying would be contrary to her own words (870ff), because, we must assume, the chorus must have given their crowns to Electra as they said *σὺ μὲν νῦν ἀγάλματ' ἄειρε κραδί* (873-74). These crowns are the agalmata which the chorus had brought Electra for the Heraea. If this is closer to Euripides' own staging, the crowns Electra offers to victorious Orestes and Pylades in the next scene must also have come from the chorus. If the scene is to be visualized in the way its epirrhematic form seems to require, the Heraean crowns are transferred from the chorus to Electra, and then from her to Orestes and Pylades. Whether or not this could be taken as Hera's sanction upon the murder of Aegisthus is much too subtle a guess to be extracted from the silent text.

The third example is Clytaimestra's entrance: the decorativeness of the anapests has caused some embarrassments. It may point as a remote reminder to Clytaimestra's reception of Agamemnon, and hence the chorus may be intending to call down divine jealousy upon the doomed queen. Or perhaps the extravagance of its tone shows that these country women have probably seldom or never set eyes on the queen before, as Denniston realistically imagines. Since we know little or nothing about the musical ethos of tragic anapests, it is hard to say which view is correct. If, however, the sacral identity of the chorus as participants of the Heraea has been clear throughout the play till this moment, the solemn march rhythm may suggest the culminating event in the Heraea. The passage which opens and ends with the same word *βασιλεια* is full of divine epithets, as if to give the impression of a courteous greeting to the queen-priestess who is about to enter the scene of sacrifice. If we may believe in Euripides' superb theatrical ingenuity, the myth and the ritual converge upon this tense dramatic moment. But the moment rests admittedly on the skill of a stage director, rather than upon textual evidence.

The chorus as the witness of the agon is the fourth example: Clytaimestra accuses Agamemnon for his injustice to her and her child, and Electra accuses Clytaimestra for her crimes against Agamemnon and his children. The rhesis and the antirrhesis of the climactic agon contain nothing new since Aeschylus; and, quite contrary to normal Euripidean practice, the speeches do not meet sharply point to point. Yet they confront each other in one crucial point: the accusations of



the two antagonists are essentially the same. The criminals violated the sanctity of marriage, destroyed the tie between parent and child. And the witness to this trial is the chorus of the Heraea, the cult founded in honor of the goddess who protects the sanctity of marriage and childbirth.

Euripides' *Vita* tells us that he had an early training as a painter. The story may be based upon facts, or it may well be a mere rumor built upon so many picturesque passages of his plays which were so deeply admired by the distinguished author of the *De Sublimitate*.<sup>10</sup> But the examples cited above from the *Electra* point to another realm where the dramatist's visual ingenuity penetrated into his dramatic calculation. The four instances we examined are only a small portion of the play as a whole, and our interpretations quite far from certain. They only suggest that while he was writing the play on his wax tablets, the chorus of the Heraea stood in his mind as the dominant element of the scenic background, as the visual symbol of the forces which helped the myth of Electra to unfold its mystery.

#### THE AGON

From the final agon our heroine seems to many critics to emerge as the most unforgivable woman that one could conceive. Whether or not we feel repulsion against the atrocious image of Electra, a number of formal and logical oddities ask for our explanations. First, why does Clytaimnestra come at all to see Electra? It later becomes very clear that she is hesitant to perform a sacrifice for the hypothetical grandchild, just as in the same way Orestes declined to share lustral water with Aegisthus. Second, why does Electra not try to conceal her hatred? Why does she risk ruining her intrigue? Why does she not utter even a word of persuasion? Finally, if this scene is meant to be a scene of pseudo reconciliation, why did Euripides choose to set it in the form of an agon, which is inconsistent with its dramatic purpose?

These questions have been, and still can be, answered by character studies of the two antagonists. We do not follow that method for two reasons. Dramatic characters can be construed in any way you like, since the same line can be delivered in many different ways. Second, if we try to explain Euripidean form in the light of Euripidean characters, the answer is almost always identical: to Euripides, the traditional form meant little or nothing (though he proves to be the most formal of the three poets), the characters everything. The answer may well be correct; but the method does not solve our basic question why Euripides chose this particular formal arrangement for the final scene.

"Εκβητ' ἀπὴννης, Τρωάδες. Thus Clytaimestra opens the scene with the same words she used to address Agamemnon and Cassandra on the Aeschylean scene. She does not call Electra by her name, or by affectionate words like τέκνον or θυγάτηρ, till fifty lines later when the situation has become already incurably cold. Electra calls her "Mother" and offers a hand to help Clytaimestra descend, but Clytaimestra says that she has many choice slaves for the price of the girl she has lost. The lost girl is Iphigeneia, not Electra. "Then, may I not," asks Electra, "take your hand, because I too am a slave like these women, chased out of my father's house?" Clytaimestra answers, "Slaves? They are here. Do not stir." Clytaimestra keeps a chilly distance from Electra and begins her long, vindictive speech. She declares that all the miseries of Electra are in harmony with Agamemnon's counsel, for it was Agamemnon who committed outrageous crimes against his closest kin. Her reason for killing her husband with Aegisthus' help rests on three grounds: Iphigeneia's sacrifice; Cassandra; and female nature, which must seek help from outside when the husband fails to help. Clytaimestra grants Electra freedom of speech, if Electra has any justifiable cause to complain against her mother. Parrhesia is offered to Electra as a challenge of the stronger to the insignificant.

A dramatic speech can be delivered in many quite different ways. But so far there is not even a single trace in Clytaimestra's speech to show that she is seeking a compromise or reconciliation with her daughter. Her rhesis amounts to saying that her past deeds are logically impeccable, that therefore Electra's grudge is necessarily at fault. She descends from the chariot before the speech. This action took place probably after 1007, for the line must be spoken as a verbal sign to check Electra's approach. Electra, prevented from her move, halts and watches. If so, Electra's indignant 1008-10 must have been spoken to the person moving towards herself, or else was an "aside" if the Greek theater had this convention. The agon opens with a dramatic offensive from Clytaimestra's side.

Electra takes up the challenge with caution. Almost like a slave about to speak up against the master, she first makes certain that the parrhesia is granted and that it is not a trap. Then she begins her counterspeech with trenchant bitterness. "O Mother, would that you had been a little more prudent! Your excuses may have deceived others, but not me, for I know you better." Clytaimestra wanted Agamemnon's death even before Troy fell, even before he returned with Cassandra. Still more, even if Clytaimestra had rightly executed her husband, what right did she have to commit cruel deeds against her own children?

"What wrong have I done to you? Why did you take away our father's house from us? Why was Aegisthus never exiled? If blood is rightly avenged by blood, we should have the right to kill you to avenge our father's blood!"

The two speeches produce irreconcilable opposition. Neither side has shown any sign of repentance or acceptance. Nor does Electra try to deceive Clytaimestra. Her invective must infuriate Clytaimestra, and what would normally take place in tragedy is a line-to-line scuffle between the antagonists. But this does not happen in the *Electra*. Clytaimestra suddenly changes. She does not take offense at Electra's reproach. Could Electra's words inspire Clytaimestra's sympathy? Or did Electra's miseries appeal to her mother's compassion? Clytaimestra's cold disregard of her daughter at the beginning of the scene makes this difficult to believe. If lines 1107-10 had been spoken by Clytaimestra before her first brazen rhesis, then the situation would have looked more like a scene of reconciliation. Consequently there would have been no rhetorical agon of the antagonists. But Euripides did put the lines where they are. He chose to have Clytaimestra's concessive lines in the most incongruous situation. Three explanations are possible for his choice: (a) Euripides did not care; or, what he cared for was the rhetorical agon per se, even if the agon leads to a highly implausible dramatic situation; (b) Euripides meant Clytaimestra to be a sympathetic, forgiving mother; (c) Euripides intentionally contradicted Clytaimestra's concession. We are interested in the third explanation.

When Clytaimestra offers her compromise, Electra repels it. Electra does not even deign to notice the key word of her mechanema, the childbirth, when the word first comes from Clytaimestra's mouth. "Your deeds were done; there is no cure for them. Not only that, why do you keep away Orestes?" Clytaimestra moves yet closer to Electra by confiding her fear of Orestes: "It is not for him but for myself that I am afraid of Orestes." But again Electra pushes her mother away, blaming Aegisthus for his cruelty. Again Clytaimestra concedes. Step by step, in total disregard of Electra's vehement reactions, Clytaimestra narrows the initial distance, till she comes to the crucial question: "Child, why did you call me?" Electra never called her. Her message to Clytaimestra was merely that she gave birth to a boy. At that time Electra assured the Old Man that the news alone would force her mother to come, "and as soon as she comes, Hades is ready." This could be simply considered as one of the small discrepancies quite common in the plots of Greek tragedy. But the discrepancy spreads still wider in the present situation of the

*Electra*. So far Electra has spoken no word to deceive or entice or even persuade Clytaimestra. Her words and speeches have been so hostile that they could not have helped antagonizing Clytaimestra. They were not at all like a kind invitation or a humble supplication to Clytaimestra to come into the house of trap. Yet the more hostile Electra shows herself, the closer Clytaimestra tries to approach her daughter and the house.

At 1124 Electra plainly says, "You heard then about my child. Do then perform a sacrifice for the child." At this request, Clytaimestra distinctly moves away from Electra for the first time since she entered the scene. "That is someone else's work, the woman who delivered your child." It strongly reminds us of Orestes' refusal to share the initial rite of sacrifice with Aegisthus, whom he was intending to murder. Electra explains that there was no one who helped her, but still she does not utter a word to press or persuade Clytaimestra to perform the rite. She only explains the circumstances. Yet, without persuasion or entreaty, she makes Clytaimestra consent. "Well, then I shall go in. I shall offer sacrifice to the gods that the child's age may be fulfilled as it is destined. After this favor to you, I shall go and join my husband who now sacrifices to the Nymphs." If Aegisthus' sacrifice to the Nymphs has an immediate connection with a child newly born, or yet to be born, as Orestes earlier understood it (626),<sup>11</sup> it must now be the most opportune moment for Clytaimestra to join her husband and tell him that there is another unexpected new child — the most undesirable of all children in the world — Electra's boy. She would certainly do a great favor to Aegisthus, who feared nothing more than he did Electra's child. As Clytaimestra turns to enter the house, Electra speaks to her back: "Walk right into the poor house. But I beg you to watch lest the smoke-filled walls should soil your garment. Your sacrifice is due in the eyes of gods." In the total lack of Electra's persuasion Clytaimestra is entrapped and enters the "smoke-filled" house where "Justice uplifts her light," as Aeschylus said earlier in his play.

The scene proved Electra's success, contrary to our fear. Her message enticed Clytaimestra to come. It lured her into the house, for it made her deaf to the bitterest reproaches Electra slashed upon her ears. Yet it is more paradoxical that in the entire scene both Electra and Clytaimestra seemed to strive to contradict their own interests. Electra did almost everything to ruin her mechanism by infuriating and driving away her victim, while Clytaimestra was consistently compromising her pride and haughty self-respect. Yet these contrary strivings did not avert the premeditated end. One might almost say



that the form and the purpose of the scene are quite incompatible. The paradox could be viewed as the result of the unpredictables which Euripides always exploited with the utmost skill, but we find it easier to explain by suggesting that the paradox has been given its solution in the mythical norm of Electra's mechanema.

Electra's mechanema does not need any external force of persuasion to fulfill its course, but works from inside its victims, so long as Aegisthus and Clytaimestra keep a fearful watch upon Electra's child. There is no need for her to ask or persuade them to come and see the child. Not because Electra psychologizes about her victims' probable reactions in so many words (for there is no need for her to do so), but because the norm of the common archaic myth which Euripides placed under the plot of the play dictates their coming to the spot sooner or later in order to do away with the child.

The total lack of Electra's persuasion in the last scene proves where the real power of persuasion lies: not in Electra's words but in the inexpressible fears of her persecutors. In addition, the form of an agon followed by a series of peculiarly one-sided concessions sharpens the more hidden of the two opposite mechanemata. One has plotted long against the hypothetical child, and still does to the end; the other plots on the plot of the persecutors, capitalizing on the persecutors' interests in the child. The boulema and the anti-boulema which emerge from the hypothesis of the two superimposed myths, and which framed the structure of the play in two perspectives, necessitated the use of the agon at the climactic scene. The form and logic of the final scene must have been designed by the poet to be the final confirmation of the title myth as a fresh projection of an unnamed prototypal myth. The myth of Electra reshapes itself in Euripides' play and finds a new meaning within another myth: the parent pursuing the grandchild punishes herself on account of her own wickedness. For this was the mythical situation Electra was cast in, and from this Electra's mechanema formulated itself, and this alone seems to be able to provide the last scene with a logic consistent with the structure of the play as a whole. When Clytaimestra's dying cries are heard from inside, the myth of Electra completes its course, as Euripides meticulously plotted, over the path of another timeless myth.

#### EPILOGUE

Our examination of the basic hypothesis to the structure of the play has uncovered an interesting aspect in Euripides' dramaturgical attitude. When Euripides seeks truth or meaning as a dramatist in a

given myth, for example the myth of Electra, his search leads him to uncover another myth hidden underneath. This attitude has come to our notice as we examined the structure of the mechanema, the scenic background, and the agon. His approach may be termed analytical so far as he tries to penetrate the given surface of concrete details of the traditional myth and seeks a truth which appeals to his imagination; yet his mind seems to traverse a metaphorical path, for what he uncovers in depth is still a myth complete within its own sphere of concrete situations. This is what he does when he makes the myth of the golden lamb regenerate its meaning from beneath the surface action of the anagnorisis, or when he lets the myth of the grandchild take over the essential structure of the *Electra*. In search of dramatic truth and meaning, Euripides, even in this allegedly modern, naturalistic, and psychological play, works in much the same way as the older poets, sifting the layers of myths to formulate dramatic situations and characters.

There is a significant difference between his attitude and ours. In the *Electra*, as he searches for meaning — whatever it is — his mind seeks a vision deeper, farther away from where he stands, till another myth presents itself in the guise of the title myth. The direction and attitude seem to be quite different from what we call modernism. We have little or no myth to which we can relate ourselves, so we create the myth of ourselves. It is therefore often taken for granted that any modernizing attempt — any attempt to discover a fresh interpretation meaningful to ourselves — must by definition bring the issues down to our contemporary trivialities. If there is any truth, it must be hidden somewhere deep within “us” or must be related to our inner self, which is nothing but another nebulous myth which we treasure. In this vein we think, finding Euripides’ *Electra* different from Aeschylus’ *Choephoroe*, that Euripides’ invention must have been aimed in the same direction as our attempts to “modernize.” Perhaps we are totally mistaken. When Euripides sought a deeper truth, it presented itself not as something his and only his, but as another still older myth with many names. His attitude betrays the essentially Hellenic mark; for he seeks the myth, with his dramaturgical logos as the instrument of his search.

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# NOTES

This paper was read at the Fourth International Congress of Classical Studies in Philadelphia on August 25, 1964.

1. Abuses shed on Euripides' *Electra* easily fill a volume. For the *Electra* in past literary criticism, cf. F. Stoessel, "Die *Elektra* des Euripides," *Rh. Mus.* 99 (1956) 47-92. For the date, cf. G. Zuntz, *The Political Plays of Euripides* (1955) 64ff.

2. A. Gross, *De Stichomythia in Trag. et Com. Graec.* (1905) 42 with notes; J. D. Denniston, *Euripides, Electra* (1939), *ad loc.*

3. F. Solmsen, "Zur Gestaltung des Intrigenmotivs in d. Trag. des Sophokles u. Euripides," *Philologus* 87 (1932) 1-17.

4. Pindar, *Isth.* 8.30ff.

5. Herodotus 1.107ff; 5.92ßff.

6. J. T. Sheppard, "The *Electra* of Euripides," *CR* 32 (1918) 137-41, seems to be the first to have produced an imagistic interpretation of the Gorgons in the *Electra*. It may be that the myth of Orestes killing both Aegisthus and Clytaimestra, using the death of one as instrumental to the death of the other, was shaped after the myth of the first Mycenaean prince, Perseus, and his conquest of the Gorgons.

7. H. Schönewolf, *Der jungattische Dithyrambos* (1938) 37ff, following W. Kranz, *Stasimon*, 228ff. This is another Aristophanic blind pigeonhole.

8. I follow Wilamowitz, *Gr. Vers.*, 215, with Heath's καλλίποκον.

9. Pollux, *Onom.* 4.78. M. P. Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, 42ff. For the Hera cult in Argos, Samos, etc., cf. Wilamowitz, *Herakles* (new ed. 1959) II 48 n. 79.

10. *De Subl.* 15.1-4; Satyros' *Bios* might have contained in the lost part some attempts to conjure up Euripides' early training from passages in his plays.

11. Paley, *ad Eur. El.* 625, with Schol. Plat. *Theaet.* 160e; H. Herter, *RE* 34 Hbd. (1937) 1550-51.





## PSEUDO-XENOPHON

G. W. BOWERSOCK

### I. DATE

FROM the time of Roscher's study of Thucydides, the date of the pseudo-Xenophontic treatise has been seriously in question.<sup>1</sup> But there has been little agreement: the work has been dated with equal fervor both during the Peloponnesian War and before it. Much scholarly attention has been lavished upon this author in the present century, especially in Germany during the thirties and early forties (as the works of Kupferschmid, Instinsky, K. I. Gelzer, Rupprecht, Prestel, Volkening, and Nestle amply testify).<sup>2</sup> Instinsky's dissertation was perhaps the most original and important piece of scholarship devoted to pseudo-Xenophon after Kalinka's commentary of 1913, inasmuch as he was the first to argue at length that the treatise belonged before the outbreak of war. K. I. Gelzer, though preferring a date at the very beginning of the war, owed much to Instinsky's dissertation; and Rupprecht, in a review of Volkening in 1942, reversed his old opinion to range himself on Instinsky's side.<sup>3</sup> The Danish scholar and statesman, Hartvig Frisch, in his study of pseudo-Xenophon (1942), also advocated an early date.<sup>4</sup> And now, most recently, Jacqueline de Romilly has published an acute examination of those ideas in pseudo-Xenophon which are common to Thucydides; her comparison shows clearly that the views of the anonymous oligarch reflect a condition of peace, not war.<sup>5</sup>

It is probably safe to say that the weight of opinion is now on the side of an early date — either before the war or in the year of the outbreak.<sup>6</sup> Most scholars will acknowledge the validity of Roscher's old observation that the treatise belongs at least before 424 in view of the statement at 2.5 concerning the impossibility of a long march overland; for that was decisively contradicted by Brasidas' march to the north. In recent years only Fuks and Mattingly have attempted to advocate a date later than 424.<sup>7</sup> Before them, it was Gomme.<sup>8</sup>

The fact is that only once in the entire treatise (at 3.11) does pseudo-Xenophon mention specific historical events. Everything else is

generality, in respect to society, institutions, and policy. There can, of course, be no doubt that this is the time of the Athenian Empire: allusions to Athenian control of the sea, to the allies of Athens, and to their tribute are clear enough. But the very absence of references to particular events constitutes a strong reason for judging the treatise theoretical.

There are a number of general remarks of pseudo-Xenophon which various scholars have been able to turn to their own purposes by inferring allusions to datable events or circumstances, but it would be of little value to rehearse their arguments or indeed the refutations of their opponents. For it is methodologically wrong to use an event which confirms a general or theoretical utterance in order to establish a *terminus post*, since what is said would be as true before or after the event as during it. Only when a well known historical event contradicts such an utterance is that event likely to provide a date, namely a *terminus ante*. Hence the validity of Roscher's inference from the remark about overland marches.

Inferences from 2.14-16 are particularly dangerous precisely because of the close parallels with Thucydides. These chapters are devoted to a consideration of the advantages which would accrue to Athens if she were an island; a contrast is made with the reality of the case: e.g., if Athens were an island thalassocracy, she would not have to worry about enemy ravaging of her land, but as it is she does. If she were an island, she would not have to worry that traitorous citizens might bring in the enemy. Further, since the city is not an island, citizens are obliged to transfer their property to islands at the time of enemy invasion and to abandon their land to devastation. The entire discussion, *ἐὶ νῆσον ᾗκουν*, makes up a single unit in pseudo-Xenophon's arguments, and it is manifestly theoretical.

However, when the author observes in the same passage that, during enemy ravaging, farmers and rich people suffer, while the demos lives undisturbed (*ἀδεῶς ζῆν*), it is legitimate to infer that these words were written before the terrible misery which the demos experienced during the first Spartan invasions in the Peloponnesian War.<sup>9</sup> This is a case in which a fact of history contradicts a general utterance and thereby yields a *terminus ante*. If pseudo-Xenophon's words about the ravaging of Attic land and the transposition of property to islands were to indicate a date after the Spartan invasions began, they would be wholly irreconcilable with *ἀδεῶς ζῆν*. But the problem does not exist: only those latter words can assist in dating.

Kirchhoff once argued that the phrase *περὶ τοῦ πολέμου* at 3.2 proved that there was a war on.<sup>10</sup> This point has now been refuted often

enough so that it should suffice merely to mention the context within which the phrase occurs, namely the activities of the βουλή: revenues, law-making, relations with allies, tribute, care of dockyards and shrines — and matters of war. This too is a purely theoretical passage, and the definite article with πολέμου, on which Kirchhoff laid so much importance, signifies nothing.<sup>11</sup> Note, for example, Aristotle 'Ath. πολ. 30.5: τὰ τοῦ πολέμου.

At 2.18 in the treatise of pseudo-Xenophon there is some kind of allusion to attacks in comedy on the demos: such attacks are not tolerated (οὐκ ἑῶσιν). It has often been said with some reason that this remark should at least precede Aristophanes' *Knights* of 424 B.C. (One should not, however, forget the extent of our ignorance of non-Aristophanic comedy.) Instinsky went so far as to see here an allusion to a legal ban on comedy and therefore was compelled to choose a date for pseudo-Xenophon between 440/39 and 437/6, for the only such ban we know about before 415 falls in that period.<sup>12</sup> This argument was thoroughly refuted by Gelzer,<sup>13</sup> though it is frequently revived (especially in conversation). The words of pseudo-Xenophon do not necessarily imply a legal prohibition; they refer to an attitude. And, besides, the decree in force between 440/39 and 437/6 was, we are told, περὶ τοῦ μὴ κωμωδεῖν, which is not the same thing as κωμωδεῖν . . . καὶ κακῶς λέγειν τὸν μὲν δῆμον οὐκ ἑῶσιν, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ ἀκούωσι κακῶς.

It is best now to move directly to the principal reason for reopening the discussion of date: the specific references to historical events in 3.11. Given the total absence of any such references in pseudo-Xenophon, scholars ought long ago to have seen in this passage the only hope of illumination. The items registered there belong to a discussion of Athens' support of democrats against the ὀλίγοι in the cities. Like supports like: οἱ γὰρ ὁμοῖοι τοῖς ὁμοίοις εὖ νοοῖ εἰσι. Pseudo-Xenophon observes that whenever the Athenians preferred οἱ βέλτιστοι the arrangement did not turn out to the Athenians' advantage. Of such unsuccessful support of oligarchy three examples are given.

1. ἐν τὸς ὀλίγου χρόνου ὁ δῆμος ἐδούλευσεν ὁ ἐν Βοιωτοῖς.

(The paradosis here, as argued in the second part of this article,<sup>14</sup> is ὁ μὲν before Βοιωτοῖς; therefore, conjectures founded on the τοῦτο μὲν in C have no validity.) When did Athens support Boeotian oligarchs to her cost? Virtually all students of pseudo-Xenophon have perceived that this must have taken place during the period of Athenian control of Boeotia, that is between the battles of Oenophyta and Coronea (457–446 B.C.). A passage in Aristotle's *Politics* alludes to the destruction of

democracy in Thebes sometime after Oenophyta,<sup>15</sup> but Aristotle does not say enough to be really helpful (especially if there is any truth to Diodorus' statement that Thebes was excepted from Athenian domination during the period in question).<sup>16</sup> We cannot therefore say when Athens began to support oligarchs in Boeotia, but the failure of the policy, which pseudo-Xenophon has in mind, must surely be Coronea. Gomme made that point: "Ps.-Xenophon is speaking of the evil results to *Athens* of her support of oligarchs in other states, and the mere 'enslavement' of the demos in Boeotia would not count for anything if it had not resulted in the defeat at Koroneia."<sup>17</sup> Thucydides reports that Tolmides' disastrous expedition to Boeotia was the result of the return of some exiles to Chaeronea and Orchomenus;<sup>18</sup> beyond that, we know almost nothing about the prelude to Coronea. Gomme suggested that moderate oligarchs, supported by Athens, engineered a return of exiled extremists which led directly to Athens' defeat.<sup>19</sup> However, so far as one can tell, it is no less possible that the exiles who returned were democrats driven out by oligarchs in power during the Athenian hegemony: if the Boeotian constitution, as it is described in the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, was established soon after Coronea, it could hardly be considered a reflection of the return of oligarchic extremists; it might, however, be a compromise reflecting the return of democrats to cities which had been previously under oligarchic government. In any case, the first item in pseudo-Xenophon's catalogue at 3.11 suggests a *terminus post* of 446 B.C. — which is worth remembering.

2. τοῦτο δὲ ὅτε Μιλησίων εἵλοντο τοὺς βελτίστους, ἐντὸς ὀλίγου χρόνου ἀποστάντες τὸν δῆμον κατέκοψαν.

Here is another example of unsuccessful Athenian support of a local oligarchy, and the period in question is once again the middle of the fifth century. There survive three contemporary inscriptions which bear on Milesian politics at the time; in recent years this evidence has been carefully reexamined, yielding results which have some relevance to the study of pseudo-Xenophon.

Following a suggestion published by Russell Meiggs in 1943, A. J. Earp postulated that the revolt of the Milesian oligarchs, who had been supported by Athens, occurred between 446/5 and 444/3.<sup>20</sup> The previous (and widely accepted) view had identified the oligarchs' rebellion with a revolt at Miletus indicated by the quota lists in the period 454–452. But it is clear from the Athenian regulations for Miletus, recorded on a stone of 450/49, that the constitution *after* the revolt of the fifties was oligarchic and therefore that the revolt mentioned by pseudo-Xenophon



came later.<sup>21</sup> The work of Earp was taken up by Dr. John Barron in an article published in 1962 which supplied solid new arguments for Earp's thesis.<sup>22</sup> Barron exploited persuasively a Milesian banishment decree of the mid-fifth century issued against the Neileid clan together with extant evidence for Neileid tenure of Milesian oligarchic magistracies in the early forties.<sup>23</sup> The failure of Milesian tribute from 446/5 to 444/3 discloses the time of the oligarchs' revolt; it is certain that there was a democracy at Miletus in 441, and tribute was resumed in 443/2. The banishment of the Neileids will have been the result of the suppression of the revolt, and Athenian support of them can be explained as propaganda originating in the fact that Neileus' father was King Codrus of Athens.

No serious flaw has been detected in the Earp-Barron argument.<sup>24</sup> If it is right one must not only emphasize the curious coincidence that the first two examples of pseudo-Xenophon's point both allude to the mid-fifth century: they both also refer to upheavals which occurred precisely in 446.

3. τοῦτο δὲ ὅτε εἶλοντο Λακεδαιμονίους ἀντὶ Μεσσηνίων, ἐντὸς ὀλίγου χρόνου Λακεδαιμόνιοι καταστρεφόμενοι Μεσσηνίους ἐπολέμουν Ἀθηναίοις.

This last example too is taken from the mid-fifth century: the Athenian support of Spartans against the Messenians alludes to events of the late sixties, and the adverse effects, which prove pseudo-Xenophon's point, were the consequent struggles between Athens and Sparta. The Greek contains an imperfect tense (*ἐπολέμουν*) and suggests a continued state of hostilities, such as in the fifties. But what events are most likely to have put pseudo-Xenophon in mind of an Athenian policy of the sixties that turned out to be calamitous? That cannot be determined. The two preceding illustrations seem to show the impact of the year 446, and one might conjecture that the third does the same; for in that year occurred the Spartan invasion of Attica under Pleistoanax. It was an anxious year for Athens: Boeotia was lost, Sparta was on the offensive, troubles broke out in Euboea and Megara, and a place like Miletus evidently took advantage of the situation to rebel.

It would have been enough had commentators of the past asked why it was that all three of pseudo-Xenophon's specific illustrations belong to the middle of the fifth century; the fact is remarkable. And it may be that at least two of the illustrations betray the particular influence of 446. A striking omission in the treatise becomes relevant at this point: the Samian revolt. At a cost of over 1400 talents Athens put down that revolt, which was the work of oligarchs who had been for some time in undisturbed control of Samian affairs.<sup>25</sup> While there is certainly no

reason to think that the Athenians themselves either installed or actively supported the oligarchs on Samos, it is nevertheless quite clear that an oligarchic rule was tolerated.<sup>26</sup> It is inconceivable that anyone who had lived through the time of the Samian revolt would not have mentioned it in an account of the ruinous incompatibility of democracy and oligarchy. In his article on the "Old Oligarch" Gomme, arguing for a date during the Peloponnesian War, rightly asked, "Why does X instance the revolt of Miletos, not that of Samos, which was presumably a more recent and certainly a more important event, and better illustrated his point?"<sup>27</sup> This query was left unanswered.

The omission of the Samian affair establishes a strong presumption that pseudo-Xenophon is writing before the outbreak at Samos, thus before 441. With a *terminus ante* so close to 446, it should hardly be surprising if the author's few concrete illustrations reflect events of that fateful year. Ample scholarship has already been cited to show that the 'Αθ. πολ. can (or must) precede the Peloponnesian War, so that it remains, accordingly, to state that the time when the work was composed appears to be between 445 and 441.

Furthermore, within the period 445-441 the ostracism of Thucydides, the son of Melesias, in 443 would naturally suggest itself in connexion with the composition of an oligarchic tract. The aftermath of the ostracism might well have induced in an oligarchic bosom a particular interest in how the Athenians contrived so well to conserve their form of government (ὥς εὖ διασώζονται τὴν πολιτείαν). A remark of pseudo-Xenophon on the regularity of the assessment of tribute becomes telling: τοῦτο δὲ γίγνεται ὥς τὰ πολλὰ δι' ἔτους πέμπτου (3.5). A quinquennial re-assessment was indeed normal at Athens until the war broke out, but the oligarch's ὥς τὰ πολλὰ seems to imply knowledge of some (but not much) irregularity in assessment: the tribute lists reveal one, precisely in 443.<sup>28</sup>

If these arguments have force, one must acknowledge that the war policies, normally regarded as Periclean and eloquently phrased by the historian Thucydides, were formulated early: they came, perhaps, into existence as a result of the emergencies of 446. And the treatise of pseudo-Xenophon will have to be judged the earliest surviving work of Attic prose.

## II. TEXT

In an article published in 1932 Münscher observed, "Durch Kalinkas und Marchants Bemühungen ist der Text der 'Αθ. πολ. im wesentlichen bereinigt und festgestellt, nur an wenigen Stellen bleiben noch Zweifel oder bedarf es noch der bessernden Hand."<sup>29</sup> Such optimism was premature.



Of the manuscripts of pseudo-Xenophon four only need engage the attention of an editor. These are

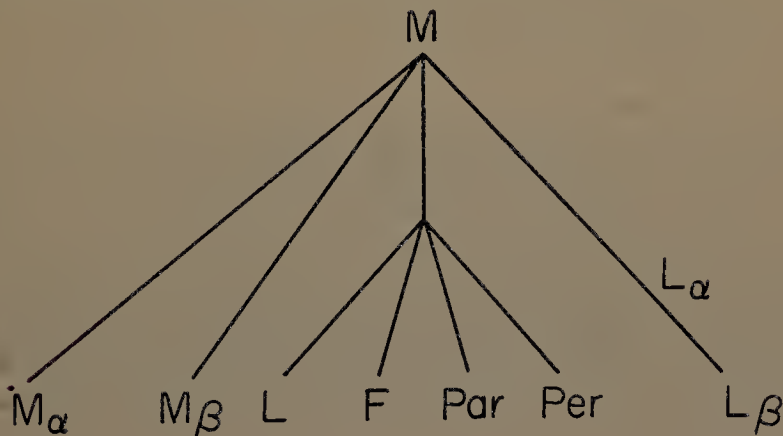
- A Vaticanus 1950, fourteenth century
- B Vaticanus 1335, late fourteenth or early fifteenth century
- C Mutinensis 145, fifteenth century
- M Marcianus 511=590, fourteenth century

The relationship and worth of these manuscripts have never been adequately studied and can certainly not be made out from the morass of Kalinka's apparatus (Teubner 1914); furthermore, Kalinka was evidently ignorant of many of the readings in B. Generally ACM have been considered the most important witnesses, and C in particular has been thought by some to be especially precious for the otherwise unsupported readings it contains.<sup>30</sup>

On the other manuscripts Kalinka's introduction to the Teubner text is quite sufficient. These manuscripts are

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| only as<br>far as<br>1.16 <i>μάλιστα</i><br><i>ἦσαν Ἀθηναίων</i> | $M\alpha$ Marcianus 368=852, fifteenth century<br>$M\beta$ Marcianus 369=1045, fifteenth century<br>{ $L$ Laurentianus 55.21, fourteenth century<br>$F$ Laurentianus conv. suppr. 110 Flor.,<br>fifteenth century<br>{ $Par$ Parisinus 2955, fifteenth century<br>$Per$ Perusinus B 34, fifteenth century<br>$L\alpha$ Laurentianus 55.22, fourteenth century<br>$L\beta$ Laurentianus 80.13, early fifteenth century |
|--|---|

All are derived from M, and are eliminable. Their relationship can be suggested by the accompanying stemma:



I may subjoin here, in addition to the evidence produced by Kalinka, that both  $M\alpha$  and  $M\beta$  omit the words ἄμεινον . . . ζευγός ἐστιν at 1.17 just as M itself does. Somehow Kalinka (and all other scholars) neglected to note that. In the case of the defective group L F Per Par it is possible that only L derives from M and that the other manuscripts descend in some way from L; it is a matter of no importance.

The four manuscripts ABCM can be divided into a group ABC distinct from M. The evidence is clear:

- 1.20 ἐμελέτησαν . . . κυβερνῶντες M: om. ABC  
 3.10 ἀλλὰ τὸ κάκιστον . . . δήμῳ M: om. ABC

Therefore, ABC have a common origin ( $\alpha$ ) which M does not have, and they have the same relation to  $\alpha$  as  $M\alpha$   $M\beta$  etc. have to M. Were  $\alpha$  to exist, ABC would be as eliminable as the derivative M group.

There are a great many instances of agreement of ABM where C preserves a different reading; but only in one case does C obviously have the right reading, and that is at 3.1 πάντας C: πάντες, -ας M: πάντες AB. The correction in M was made by the first hand and both terminations duly copied into  $M\alpha$  and  $M\beta$ : πάντας is an easy correction, as M shows, and necessary for any thoughtful scribe, — οὐχ οἰοί τε πάντας αποπέμπειν εἰς χρηματίζαντες.<sup>31</sup> It is highly probable that C merely incorporates a lucky and easy conjecture rather than preserves a valuable right reading.

It is my intention to demonstrate that C bristles throughout with someone's attempts to improve the text.

Consider the following instances of the agreement of ABM against C:

- 1.13 πλούσιοι ὁ δὲ δῆμος ABM: πλούσιοι καὶ τριηραρχοῦσιν ὁ δὲ δῆμος C  
 2.5 οὐδ' ἂν μὴ ἤ μὴ ἀποβῆναι om. ABM: exhibit C  
 2.15 εἶχεν αὐτοῖς AB: ὑπῆρχεν αὐτοῖς C: αὐτοῖς εἶχεν M  
 2.17 οἱ γε τά AM: εἰ γε τά B: εἰ γε μὴν τά C  
 3.3 πλείω ABM: πολλῶ πλείω C

The examples from 2.15 and 2.17, as will be immediately apparent, are essentially of the same form of agreement (ABM against C) as the others. The variation in word order in 2.15 is of a type common in this text: e.g. 1.1 ἔδοξεν οὕτως ABC: οὕτως ἔδοξεν M, 1.13 μᾶλλον μέλει A (μέλλει) BC: μέλει μᾶλλον M, 1.15 Ἀθηναίων ἔχειν ABC: ἔχειν Ἀθηναίων M, 3.9 μὲν δημοκρατίαν ABC: δημοκρατίαν μὲν M. In 2.17 εἰ for οἱ is easy itacism: cf. 2.12 οἵτινες ACM: εἰ τινες B. Therefore, at 2.15 and 2.17 as given above ABM can be considered in agreement against the readings of C.

In each of the cases of ABM:C cited above, C displays a substantially fuller text, which seems to have been deliberately amplified.

At 1.13 the full sentence in ABM runs as follows: ἐν ταῖς χορηγίαις αὐτὰ καὶ γυμνασιαρχίαις καὶ τριηραρχίαις γινώσκουσιν ὅτι χορηγοῦσι μὲν οἱ πλούσιοι, χορηγεῖται δὲ ὁ δῆμος, καὶ γυμνασιαρχοῦσι οἱ πλούσιοι, ὁ δὲ δῆμος τριηραρχεῖται καὶ γυμνασιαρχεῖται. In adding καὶ τριηραρχοῦσιν after the second πλούσιοι C is perpetuating a pedantic effort to fill out the text under the influence of the three nouns at the beginning of the sentence. Pseudo-Xenophon is not concerned with such matching of phrases (as can be seen here from his reversing of the relative order of the gymnasiarchy and trierarchy at the end of the sentence). Something similar lies behind C's reading at 2.5, where pseudo-Xenophon discusses the advantages of a maritime marauder: τὸν δὲ πλέοντα, οὗ μὲν ἂν ᾗ κρείττων, ἔξεστιν ἀποβῆναι. C alone of the manuscripts provides a neatly balancing negative phrase οὗ δ' ἂν μὴ ᾗ μὴ ἀποβῆναι. At 2.15 where ABM read essentially ταῦτα ἂν ἀδεῶς εἶχεν αὐτοῖς C alone has an inflated (and false) text ὑπῆρχεν αὐτοῖς, which seems to have been inspired by 2.14 (ὑπῆρχεν ἂν αὐτοῖς). (It will be noted that the word order of C here corresponds to that of its own group, deriving from α.) At 2.17, C alone fills out οἱ (or εἰ) γε τά with an added μῆν. Finally at 3.3 where ABM are satisfied with a mere πλείω C serves up πολλῶ πλείω.

Other signs of adjustment of the text can be discerned in C. Note the divergences

- 2.6 ἀφικνέεται τοῖς τῆς θαλάττης ἄρχουσιν ABM: τοῖς τῆς θαλάττης ἄρχουσιν ἀφικνέεται C  
 2.12 λεία χώρα καὶ ἄξυλος ABM: λεία καὶ ἄξυλος χώρα C

These are not variations in word order of the simple kind discussed above in connexion with 2.15 but rather someone's notion of improved Greek. Similarly explicable are

- 1.6 ᾗν ABM: ᾗν ἂν C  
 1.11 θαυμάζει ABM: θαυμάζοι C  
       σέ δεδοίκει ABM: σέ δέδοικεν C  
 2.14 ἡβούλοντο ABM: ἐβούλοντο C

At 1.6 ᾗν occurs in the phrase ᾗν ἀγαθὰ as the apodosis of a present contrary-to-fact condition; the ἂν is a pedantic insertion betraying ignorance of a Greek idiom. θαυμάζει at 1.11 belongs in the protasis of a mixed condition which contains an optative (φανείεν ἂν) in the

apodosis; C's optative *θαυμάζοι* is therefore not mere itacism but another inept attempt to correct. So too the transformation of the dubious form *δεδοίκει* into *δέδοικεν*: the letters transmitted in ABM were actually correct but wrongly divided (read *σ' ἔδεδοίκει*). At 2.14 came a failure to recognize a double augment.

The foregoing examples, taken together, expose in C the work of a medieval scribe who amplified and adjusted the text in a pedantic way. Once the character of these numerous and substantial divergences from the consensus of ABM is appreciated, it becomes apparent that they are worthless for the text of pseudo-Xenophon. They cannot be, as many have thought, a precious repository of readings otherwise lost. Accordingly, although C derives from the same manuscript (*α*) as AB, a number of alterations were at some time after *α* introduced into the text — probably not for the first time in C. For C contains several absurd errors, which the interpolator would not have tolerated; they are products of careless transcription, e.g.,

- 1.8 *δουλεύειν* ABM: *βουλεύειν* C  
 1.11 *διδόναι* ABM: *δεδιέναι* C  
 1.19 *ναυτικῇ* ABM: *ἀττικῇ* C  
 2.11 *πέιση τοὺς ἄρχοντας* AB: *πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας* C: *πέιση τὸν ἄρχοντα* M

(In the last of these four instances, manuscript *α* clearly had *πέιση τοὺς ἄρχοντας*, whereas M has the erroneous *πέιση τὸν ἄρχοντα*.) Accordingly, since the alterations in C did not appear there for the first time, it is necessary to postulate at least one lost manuscript (*γ*) intermediate between *α* and C.

Of C it may perhaps also be noted here, as it has been noted before,<sup>32</sup> that in several instances the manuscript is accurate about rough breathings where ABM, as at 1.6, are not. These breathings may be no less the work of the pedant just unmasked.

The four manuscripts ABCM contain in common two errors which manifestly betray a lost uncial manuscript: 2.9 *KTACΘAI* for *ICTACΘAI* and 3.3 *EΠEΔIΔOCAN* for *ETIEΔIΔOCAN*. There are no common minuscule confusions, but in view of the brevity of the text and the lateness of the manuscripts which exist, it is legitimate to assume a minuscule archetype: the two misreadings of uncial themselves suggest a copyist in minuscule who had a less than perfect familiarity with uncial. The congruence of M with one or more manuscripts of the *α* group (apart from accidental coincidences) will serve to show the

readings of the archetype and thereby inform the critic of the paradosis.<sup>33</sup> Deriving from manuscript  $\alpha$ , C can therefore prove useful on the few occasions when AB and M diverge; the congruence CM will give the reading of the archetype. For instance:

3.8 ὀλιγίστας CM: ὀλιγούσας AB

At this point it will be well for completeness to note the relation between A and B. Since B is a later manuscript than A, A cannot derive from it, and the following examples prove that B does not derive from A:

1.8 μέλει BCM: μέλλει A

3.5 στρατιᾶς AC: στρατιάς M: στρατιᾶ B

Thus neither A nor B was derived from the other; and from the divergence CM:AB it appears that there was at least one manuscript ( $\beta$ ) intermediate between  $\alpha$  and AB.

On the next page a stemma appears, in which  $\alpha$  and M take their place as hyparchetypes and  $\Omega$  represents the archetype whose readings are given by the congruence of M with one or more manuscripts of the  $\alpha$  group.

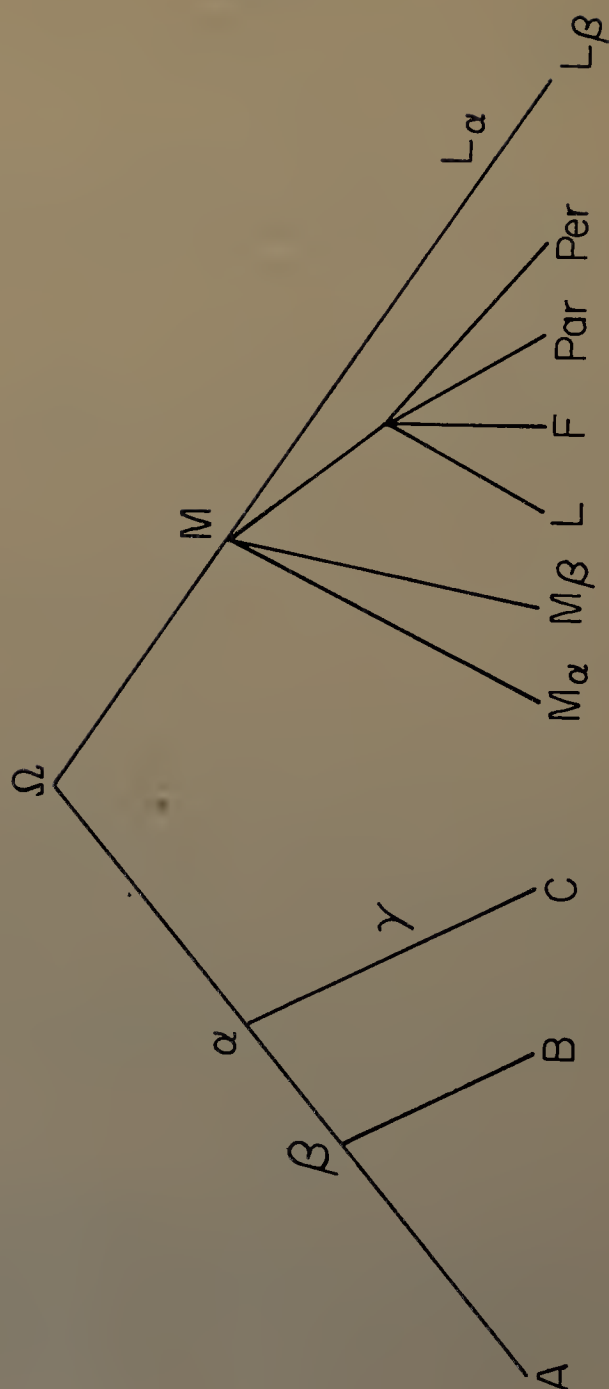
The result of the foregoing study of C has been to render that hitherto prized witness almost wholly worthless. Accordingly, when ABM diverge from C in those few cases which can be argued either way, the critic will prefer the testimony of ABM as preserving the reading of the archetype. Thus at 1.13 not C's δυνατός, but rather δυνατά (as with Wilamowitz, although the obelus is unavoidable in that passage); at 3.9 the archetype had ὅπως δέ (for which read ὅπως δῆ not C's facile ὅπως. At 3.11 the archetype will have read, as in ABM, ὁ μὲν (which is corrupt and best altered to Madvig's ὁ ἐν). At that point the pedant of C, faced with ὁ μὲν, changed to τοῦτο μὲν for a transparent reason: the passage in question is the first of an enumeration of three items, and both the second and third begin with τοῦτο δέ. Unfortunately τοῦτο μὲν makes no sense in the context of the first clause.

## NOTES

1. W. Roscher, *Leben, Werk, und Zeitalter des Thukydides* (1842) p. 529.

2. M. Kupferschmid, *Zur Erklärung der pseudoxenophontischen Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* (1932); H. U. Instinsky, *Die Abfassungszeit der Schrift vom Staate der Athener* (1933); K. I. Gelzer, *Die Schrift vom Staate der Athener* (1937); E. Rupprecht, *Die Schrift vom Staate der Athener, Interpretationen* (1939); G. Prestel, *Die antidemokratische Strömung in Athen des 5. Jahrhunderts bis zum*





*Tode des Perikles* (1939); M. Volkening, *Das Bild des attischen Staates in der pseudoxenophontischen Schrift vom Staate der Athener* (1940); W. Nestle, "Zum Rätsel der 'Αθ. πολ.," *Hermes* 78 (1943) 232ff.

3. *Gnomon* 18 (1942) 2ff.

4. H. Frisch, *The Constitution of the Athenians* (1942) pp. 47-62. This work was first published in Danish (1941).

5. J. de Romilly, "Le Pseudo-Xénophon et Thucydide," *Rev. de Philol.* 36 (1962) 225ff.

6. Note also that F. Jacoby preferred a date in the winter of 440/39, though he did not argue the case: *CQ* 41 (1947) 8. E. Hohl, in *CP* 45 (1950) 26ff, tried to prove a date of 443, which the present article will support by an entirely different argument.

7. A. Fuks, "The Old Oligarch," *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 1 (1954) 21ff.; H. B. Mattingly, *Historia* 10 (1961) 179, cf. *Ancient Society and Institutions: Studies pres. to V. Ehrenberg* (1966) p. 218 n.41.

8. A. W. Gomme, "The Old Oligarch," *HSCP* Suppl. 1 (1940) 211ff, reprinted in the volume *More Essays* (1962) pp. 38ff. Cf. J. de Romilly's comment on this article (p. 238 n.3; above, n.5): "Gomme, qui date le traité des années 420-415, en conclut seulement que l'auteur est un menteur."

9. Thuc. 2.65.2. Cf. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 71-72.

10. A. Kirchhoff, *Abh. königl. Akad. Berlin* (1878) 8.

11. Cf. Frisch (above, n.4) pp. 52-53.

12. Instinsky (above, n.2) pp. 22-26, relying on the scholion to Aristoph. *Acharn.* 67.

13. Gelzer (above, n.2) pp. 71 and 128-32.

14. Below, p. 43.

15. Aristotle *Pol.* 1302B.

16. Diod. 11.83.1. Cf. Instinsky (above, n.2) pp. 38-46.

17. A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, I (1945) p. 318 n.2. Gigante's account of the Miletus affair in his book, *La Costituzione degli Ateniesi* (1953), is very confused.

18. Thuc. 1.113.

19. Gomme, *Commentary*, I, p. 318.

20. R. Meiggs, *JHS* 63 (1943) 27; A. J. Earp, *Phoenix* 8 (1954) 142ff.

21. *Ath. Trib. Lists* II. D11 = Hill's *Sources*<sup>2</sup> B30. The revised date proposed by Mattingly, *Historia* 10 (1961) 174ff, has found respect but not acceptance.

22. J. P. Barron, *JHS* 82 (1962) 1ff.

23. The banishment decree: *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 58 = *Milet* I.6, 100ff = Tod, *GHI*<sup>2</sup> 35. For the Neileid magistrates, see Barron (above, n. 22) 3-4.

24. In a valuable conversation (August 1965) Mr. R. Meiggs pointed out to me that in view of the condition of the stone there was just a possibility that the banishment decree did not apply to all Neileids, but he nevertheless accepted on balance the Earp-Barron view. Mattingly accepts Barron's account of Miletus from 445 to 443: *Ancient Society* (above, n.7) p. 208.

25. Thuc. 1.115.2-3. The cost of the war: Hill's *Sources*<sup>2</sup> B61 = Tod, *GHI*<sup>2</sup> 50. In his *Silver Coinage of Samos* (1966), pp. 89-92 Dr. Barron proposes that the oligarchs came to power in 453: he was kind enough to show me his proof sheets while I was preparing this article.

26. Barron (n.25 above) thinks that from 453 to 441 the Samian oligarchs were in a state of ever increasing defiance of Athens. Twelve years or so seem a long time for the Athenians not to do anything about it.

27. Gomme (n.8 above) p. 230 n.1.

28. *Ath. Trib. Lists* II no. 12, cf. III p. 68. The late Professor William Wallace kindly told me once that he had long used this item in support of an early date for pseudo-Xenophon.

29. *Rh. Mus.* 81 (1932) 215.

30. For this view, *ibid.*, 209ff. Marchant, in the preface to his Oxford text of the *'Aθ. πολ.* (in Xenophon, *Opusc.*), says of manuscripts B (his siglum for Kalinka's and my A), C, and M: *qui soli sunt ad recensendum utiles*. Cf. Kalinka's study of C in the *Innsbrucker Festgruss* (1909) pp. 192-93, but note that in his Teubner *editio maior* of 1914 Kalinka wrote of C: *Tamen magis magisque mihi persuasi me olim illis locis nimiam auctoritatem tribuisse* (p. XVIII). In the Teubner text of 1912 (pp. VII-VIII) Ruehl had expressed profound suspicion of Kalinka's estimate of C and had thereby incurred Kalinka's wrath: *Lit. Zentralblatt* (1912) p. 1291. Reports of manuscript readings in the present article are based on my own collations made from microfilm and photographic reproductions. For swift and courteous help I wish particularly to thank Dr. Claudio Leonardi of the Vatican Library and Dr. Mario Favaretto of the Marciana. To Harvard University I am grateful for a grant which covered the cost of photography. Colleagues and friends have generously given me their advice; it would be ostentatious to list all their names in so brief an article.

31. It is possible that the variant was already present in the exemplar of M. My argument would not be materially affected, since the correction is an easy and obvious one, and this is the only place at which C preserves the right reading beyond any doubt. There is no variant transmitted in ABC — which somewhat reduces the probability of a variant in M's exemplar.

32. Cf. Münscher (above, n.29).

33. Cf. P. Maas, *Textual Criticism* (1958) p. 6, section (g). Accidental coincidences: nothing can be inferred about the archetype on the rare occasions when A or B agrees with M against the other two manuscripts of the  $\alpha$  group. E.g.,

1.18 τὸν Ἀθηναίων AC: τῶν Ἀθηναίων BM

2.17 οἱ γε AM: εἰ γε BC

Clearly  $\alpha$  had τόν at 1.18 and εἰ at 2.17. Therefore, the coincidences with M of B and A respectively are accidental results of the similarity of sound: τόν/τῶν, οἱ/εἰ.

### III. A NEW EDITION

The edition which follows is based upon the foregoing discussion of the manuscripts. I have personally collated from photograph or microfilm ABCM M $\alpha$  M $\beta$ . Manuscripts other than ABCM are cited only for conjectures they may contain,

## ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΡΗΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ

[I.1] Περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας, ὅτι μὲν εἶλοντο τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τῆς πολιτείας, οὐκ ἐπαινῶ διὰ τόδε, ὅτι ταῦθ' ἐλόμενοι εἶλοντο τοὺς πονηροὺς ἄμεινον πράττειν ἢ τοὺς χρηστούς. διὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦτο οὐκ ἐπαινῶ· ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξεν οὕτως αὐτοῖς, ὥς εὖ διασώζονται τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τᾶλλα διαπράττονται ἃ δοκοῦσιν ἀμαρτάνειν τοῖς ἄλλοις 5 Ἕλλησι, τοῦτ' ἀποδείξω.

[I.2] Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοῦτο ἔρῳ, ὅτι δίκαιοι αὐτόθι καὶ οἱ πένητες καὶ ὁ δῆμος πλεόν ἔχειν τῶν γενναίων καὶ τῶν πλουσίων διὰ τόδε, ὅτι ὁ δῆμός ἐστιν ὁ ἐλαύνων τὰς ναῦς καὶ ὁ τὴν δύναμιν περιτιθείς τῇ πόλει, καὶ οἱ κυβερνήται καὶ οἱ κελευσταὶ καὶ οἱ πεντηκόνταρχοι καὶ οἱ πρῶραι καὶ 10 οἱ ναυπηγοί,—οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὴν δύναμιν περιτιθέντες τῇ πόλει πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ ὀπλῖται καὶ οἱ γενναῖοι καὶ οἱ χρηστοί. ἐπειδὴ οὖν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, δοκεῖ δίκαιον εἶναι πᾶσι τῶν ἀρχῶν μετεῖναι ἐν τε τῷ κλήρῳ καὶ τῇ χειροτονίᾳ καὶ λέγειν ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ τῶν πολιτῶν. [I.3] ἔπειτα ὁπόσαι μὲν σωτηρίαν φέρουσι τῶν ἀρχῶν χρησταὶ οὔσαι καὶ μὴ 15 χρησταὶ κίνδυνον τῷ δήμῳ ἅπαντι, τούτων μὲν τῶν ἀρχῶν οὐδὲν δεῖται ὁ δῆμος μετεῖναι (οὔτε τῶν στρατηγιῶν κλήρῳ οἴονται σφίσι χρῆναι μετεῖναι οὔτε τῶν ἱππαρχιῶν)· γινώσκει γὰρ ὁ δῆμος ὅτι πλείω ὠφελεῖται ἐν τῷ μὴ αὐτὸς ἄρχειν ταύτας τὰς ἀρχάς, ἀλλ' ἔαν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους ἄρχειν· ὁπόσαι δ' εἰσὶν ἀρχαὶ μισθοφορίας ἕνεκα καὶ ὠφελίας εἰς τὸν 20 οἶκον, ταύτας ζητεῖ ὁ δῆμος ἄρχειν. [I.4] ἔπειτα δὲ ὁ ἔνιοι θαυμάζουσιν ὅτι πανταχοῦ πλεόν νέμονται τοῖς πονηροῖς καὶ πένησι καὶ δημοτικοῖς ἢ τοῖς χρηστοῖς, ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ φανοῦνται τὴν δημοκρατίαν διασώζοντες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πένητες καὶ οἱ δημοτικοὶ καὶ οἱ χεῖρους εὖ πράττοντες καὶ πολλοὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι γινόμενοι τὴν δημοκρατίαν αὖξουσιν· ἔαν δὲ εὖ 25 πράττωσιν οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ οἱ χρηστοί, ἰσχυρὸν τὸ ἐναντίον σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καθιστᾶσιν οἱ δημοτικοί. [I.5] ἔστι δὲ πάση γῇ τὸ βέλτιστον ἐναντίον τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς βελτίστοις ἐνὶ ἀκολασίᾳ τε ὀλιγίστη καὶ ἀδικία,

Ξενοφώντος ῥήτορος Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία AM: Ξενοφώντος Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία C: tit. om. B: 4 ἔδοξεν οὕτως ABC: οὕτως ἔδοξεν M 7 δίκαιοι Münscher: δικαίως ABCM 8 ἔχειν ABC: ἔχει M 12 ὀπλῖται Krüger: πολῖται ABCM 13 τῷ κλήρῳ ABC: τῷ νῦν κλήρῳ (vñk in ras.) M 14 καὶ τῇ ABC: καὶ ἐν τῇ M 16 κίνδυνον ABC: ἢ κίνδυνον M 17 στρατηγιῶν M: στρατηγικῶν ABC; κλήρῳ Wachsmuth: κλήρων ABM: om. C; οἴονται CM: οἶόν τε AB 24 οἱ δῆμοτικοί Kirchhoff: οἱ δημόται M: ἰδιῶται ABC

ἀκρίβεια δὲ πλείστη εἰς τὰ χρηστά, ἐν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ ἀμαθία τε πλείστη καὶ ἀταξία καὶ πονηρία· ἥ τε γὰρ πενία αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον ἄγει ἐπὶ τὰ αἰσχρά, καὶ ἡ ἀπαιδευσία καὶ ἡ ἀμαθία δι' ἔνδειαν χρημάτων (ἐν) ἐνίοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

[I.6] εἴποι δ' ἂν τις ὡς ἐχρῆν αὐτοὺς μὴ ἔαν λέγειν πάντας ἐξ ἴσης μηδὲ 5  
βουλεύειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς δεξιωτάτους καὶ ἄνδρας ἀρίστους· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν  
τούτῳ ἀριστα βουλεύονται ἑῶντες καὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς λέγειν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ οἱ  
χρηστοὶ ἔλεγον καὶ ἐβουλεύοντο, τοῖς ὁμοίοις σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἦν ἀγαθὰ,  
τοῖς δὲ δημοτικοῖς οὐκ ἀγαθὰ· νῦν δὲ λέγων ὁ βουλόμενος ἀναστὰς  
ἄνθρωπος πονηρὸς ἐξευρίσκει τὸ ἀγαθὸν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις αὐτῷ.

[I.7] εἴποι τις ἂν, τί ἂν οὖν γνοίῃ ἀγαθὸν αὐτῷ ἢ τῷ δήμῳ τοιοῦτος 10  
ἄνθρωπος; οἱ δὲ γινώσκουσιν ὅτι ἡ τούτου ἀμαθία καὶ πονηρία καὶ  
εὐνοια μᾶλλον λυσιτελεῖ ἢ ἡ τοῦ χρηστοῦ ἀρετὴ καὶ σοφία καὶ κακόννοια.

[I.8] εἴη μὲν οὖν ἂν πόλις οὐκ ἀπὸ τοιούτων διαιτημάτων ἢ βελτίστη, 15  
ἀλλ' ἡ δημοκρατία μάλιστ' ἂν σφύζοιτο οὕτως. ὁ γὰρ δῆμος βούλεται οὐκ,  
εὐνομουμένης τῆς πόλεως, αὐτὸς δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' ἐλεύθερος εἶναι καὶ  
ἄρχειν, τῆς δὲ κακονομίας αὐτῷ ὀλίγον μέλει· ὁ γὰρ σὺ νομίζεις οὐκ 20  
εὐνομεῖσθαι, αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τούτου ἰσχύει ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἐλεύθερός ἐστιν. [I.9]  
εἰ δ' εὐνομίαν ζητεῖς, πρῶτα μὲν ὄψει τοὺς δεξιωτάτους αὐτοῖς τοὺς νόμους  
τιθέντας· ἔπειτα κολάσουσιν οἱ χρηστοὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς καὶ βουλεύουσιν  
οἱ χρηστοὶ περὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ οὐκ ἑάσουσι μαινομένους ἀνθρώπους 25  
βουλεύειν οὐδὲ λέγειν οὐδὲ ἐκκλησιάζειν. ἀπὸ τούτων τοῖνυν τῶν ἀγαθῶν  
τάχιστ' ἂν ὁ δῆμος εἰς δουλείαν καταπέσοι.

[I.10] Τῶν δούλων δ' αὖ καὶ τῶν μετοίκων πλείστη ἐστὶν Ἀθήνησιν 30  
ἀκολασία καὶ οὔτε πατάξαι ἔξεστιν αὐτόθι οὔτε ὑπεκστήσεται σοι ὁ  
δοῦλος. οὐ δ' ἔνεκέν ἐστι τοῦτο ἐπιχώριον, ἐγὼ φράσω· εἰ νόμος ἦν τὸν 25  
δοῦλον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου τύπτεσθαι ἢ τὸν μέτοικον ἢ τὸν ἀπελευθέρων,  
πολλάκις ἂν οἰηθεὶς εἶναι τὸν Ἀθηναῖον δοῦλον ἐπάταξεν ἂν· ἐσθῆτά τε  
γὰρ οὐδὲν βελτίων ὁ δῆμος αὐτόθι ἢ οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι, καὶ τὰ  
εἶδη οὐδὲν βελτίους εἰσίν. [I.11] εἰ δέ τις καὶ τοῦτο θαυμάζει ὅτι ἐώσι 30  
τοὺς δούλους τρυφᾶν αὐτόθι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς διαιτᾶσθαι ἐνίοις, καὶ  
τοῦτο γνώμη φανέειν ἂν ποιοῦντες. ὅπου γὰρ ναυτικὴ δύναμις ἐστίν, ἀπὸ  
χρημάτων ἀνάγκη τοῖς ἀνδραπόδοις δουλεύειν, ἵνα ἱλαμβάνων μὲν  
πράττητ' τὰς ἀποφοράς, καὶ ἐλευθέρους ἀφίεναι· ὅπου δ' εἰσὶ πλούσιοι  
δοῦλοι, οὐκέτι ἐνταῦθα λυσιτελεῖ τὸν ἐμὸν δοῦλον σὲ δεδιέναι· ἐν δὲ τῇ 35  
Λακεδαίμονι ὁ ἐμὸς δοῦλος σ' ἐδεδοίκει· ἐὰν δὲ δεδίῃ ὁ σὸς δοῦλος ἐμέ,

3 ἐν add. Christian

4 ἐξ ἴσης Bergk: ἐξῆς ABCM

7 ἦν ABM: ἦν

ἂν C 15 δουλεύειν ABM: βουλεύειν C 16 κακονομίας ABC: κακονοίας M;

μέλει BCM: μέλλει A 21 βουλεύειν ABC: δουλεύειν M 28 βελτίων

Brodaeus: βέλτιον ABCM 29 θαυμάζει ABM: θαυμάζοι C 32-33 λαμβάνων

μὲν πράττη ABCM: λαμβάνωμεν ὡς πράττει (omisso τὰς) Leonclavius 35 σ'

ἐδεδοίκει Elter: σε δεδοίκει ABM: σε δέδοικεν C



κινδυνεύσει καὶ τὰ χρήματα διδόναι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ὥστε μὴ κινδυνεύειν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ. [I.12] διὰ τοῦτ' οὖν ἰσηγορίαν καὶ τοῖς δούλοις πρὸς τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἐποιήσαμεν, καὶ τοῖς μετοίκους πρὸς τοὺς ἀστούς, διότι δεῖται ἢ πόλις μετοίκων διὰ τε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ ναυτικόν· διὰ τοῦτο οὖν καὶ τοῖς μετοίκους εἰκότως τὴν ἰσηγορίαν ἐποιήσαμεν.

[I.13] Τοὺς δὲ γυμναζομένους αὐτόθι καὶ τὴν μουσικὴν ἐπιτηδεύοντας καταλέλκεν ὁ δῆμος νομίζων τοῦτο τοῦ καλὸν εἶναι, γνούς ὅτι οὐτ' δυνατὰ ταῦτά ἐστιν ἐπιτηδεύειν. ἐν ταῖς χορηγίαις αὖ καὶ γυμνασιαρχαῖς καὶ τριηραρχαῖς γινώσκουσιν ὅτι χορηγοῦσι μὲν οἱ πλούσιοι, χορηγεῖται δὲ ὁ δῆμος, καὶ γυμνασιαρχοῦσι οἱ πλούσιοι, ὁ δὲ δῆμος τριηραρχεῖται καὶ γυμνασιαρχεῖται. ἀξιοῖ γοῦν ἀργύριον λαμβάνειν ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἄδων καὶ τρέχων καὶ ὀρχούμενος καὶ πλέων ἐν ταῖς ναυσίν, ἵνα αὐτός τε ἔχη καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι πενέστεροι γίνωνται· ἐν τε τοῖς δικαστηρίοις οὐ τοῦ δικαίου αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον μέλει ἢ τοῦ αὐτοῖς συμφόρου.

[I.14] Περὶ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων—, ὅτι ἐκπλέοντες συκοφαντοῦσιν, ὥς δοκοῦσι, καὶ μισοῦσι τοὺς χρηστούς, γινώσκοντες ὅτι μισεῖσθαι μὲν ἀνάγκη τὸν ἄρχοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχομένου, εἰ δὲ ἰσχύσουσιν οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ χρηστοὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ὀλίγιστον χρόνον ἢ ἀρχὴ ἔσται τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθήνησι, διὰ ταῦτα οὖν τοὺς μὲν χρηστοὺς ἀτιμοῦσι καὶ χρήματα ἀφαιροῦνται καὶ ἐξελαύνονται καὶ ἀποκτείνουσι, τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς αὖξουσιν. οἱ δὲ χρηστοὶ Ἀθηναίων τοὺς χρηστοὺς ἐν ταῖς συμμαχίσι πόλεσι σῶζουσιν, γινώσκοντες ὅτι σφίσιν ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶ τοὺς βελτίστους σῶζειν αἰεὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν. [I.15] εἴποι δέ τις ἂν ὅτι ἰσχύς ἐστὶν αὕτη Ἀθηναίων, εἰ οἱ σύμμαχοι δυνατοὶ ὥσι χρήματα εἰσφέρειν· τοῖς δὲ δημοτικοῖς δοκεῖ μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὰ τῶν συμμάχων χρήματα ἢ ἑκάστον Ἀθηναίων ἔχειν, ἐκείνους δὲ ὅσον ζῆν, καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι ἀδυνάτους ὄντας ἐπιβουλεύειν.

[I.16] Δοκεῖ δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐν τῷδε κακῶς βουλευέσθαι, ὅτι τοὺς συμμάχους ἀναγκάζουσι πλεῖν ἐπὶ δίκας Ἀθήναζε. οἱ δὲ ἀντιλογίζονται ὅσα ἐν τούτῳ ἐνὶ ἀγαθὰ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων· πρῶτον μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν

16–20: Cf. Stob., *Anth.* 4.1.50 Ξενοφώντος ἐκ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας ὅτι μισεῖσθαι μὲν ἀνάγκη τὸν ἄρχοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχομένου, εἰ δὲ ἰσχύσουσιν οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ ἰσχυροὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὀλίγιστον χρόνον ἢ ἀρχὴ ἔσται τοῦ δήμου, διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς μὲν χρηστοὺς ἀτιμοῦσι καὶ χρήματα ἀφαιροῦνται καὶ ἐξελαύνονται καὶ ἀποκτείνουσι, τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς αὖξουσιν.

2 ἰσχυροὶ S: οἱ ἰσχυροὶ A 4 ἐξελαύνονται A: ἐξελαύνουσι S

7 δυνατὰ ABM: δυνατός C 10 πλούσιοι ὁ ABM: πλούσιοι καὶ τριηραρχοῦσιν ὁ C 11 ἀξιοῖ ABM: ἀξιοῦσι C; γοῦν ABC: οὖν M 14 μᾶλλον μέλει BC: μᾶλλον μέλλει A: μέλει μᾶλλον M 18 χρηστοὶ Heinrich: ἰσχυροὶ ABCM Stob. 19 τοῦ Ἀθήνησι ABCM: om. Stob.; οὖν ABCM: om. Stob.; ἀτιμοῦσι ABC Stob.: ἀτιμῶσι M 20 ἀφαιροῦνται ABC Stob.: ἀφαιρῶνται M 25–26 Ἀθηναίων ἔχειν ABC: ἔχειν Ἀθηναίων M27 ὁ Ἀθηναίων M: Ἀθηναίων ABC

πρυτανείων τὸν μισθὸν δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ λαμβάνειν. εἴτ' οἵκοι καθήμενοι  
 ἄνευ νεῶν ἔκπλου διοικοῦσι τὰς πόλεις τὰς συμμαχίδας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν  
 τοῦ δήμου σῶζουσι, τοὺς δ' ἐναντίους ἀπολλύουσιν ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις·  
 εἰ δὲ οἵκοι εἶχον ἕκαστοι τὰς δίκας, ἅτε ἀχθόμενοι Ἀθηναίοις τούτους ἂν  
 σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπώλλυσαν οὔτινες φίλοι μάλιστα ἦσαν Ἀθηναίων τῷ δήμῳ. 5  
 [I.17] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων τάδε κερδαίνει τῶν δικῶν  
 Ἀθήνησιν οὐσῶν τοῖς συμμαχοῖς· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἑκατοστὴ τῇ πόλει  
 πλείων ἢ ἐν Πειραιεῖ· ἔπειτα εἴ τῳ συνοικία ἐστίν, ἄμεινον πράττειν·  
 ἔπειτα εἴ τῳ ζευγὸς ἐστίν ἢ ἀνδράποδον μισθοφοροῦν· ἔπειτα οἱ κήρυκες  
 ἄμεινον πράττουσι διὰ τὰς ἐπιδημίας τὰς τῶν συμμάχων. [I.18] πρὸς δὲ 10  
 τούτοις, εἰ μὲν μὴ ἐπὶ δίκας ἦσαν οἱ σύμμαχοι, τοὺς ἐκπλέοντας Ἀθηναίων  
 ἐτίμων ἂν μόνους, τοὺς τε στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς τριηράρχους καὶ  
 πρέσβεις· νῦν δ' ἡνάγκασται τὸν δῆμον κολακεύειν τὸν Ἀθηναίων εἰς  
 ἕκαστος τῶν συμμάχων, γινώσκων ὅτι δεῖ μὲν ἀφικόμενον Ἀθήναζε  
 δίκην δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν οὐκ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἄλλ' ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, ὅς ἐστι δὴ 15  
 νόμος Ἀθήνησι· καὶ ἀντιβολῆσαι ἀναγκάζεται ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις καὶ  
 εἰσιόντος του ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς χειρός. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν οἱ σύμμαχοι  
 δοῦλοι τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων καθεστᾶσι μᾶλλον.

[I.19] Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διὰ τὴν κτῆσιν τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὑπερορίοις καὶ διὰ  
 τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν λεληθᾶσι μανθάνοντες ἐλαύνειν τῇ κώπῃ 20  
 αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ ἀκόλουθοι· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἄνθρωπον πολλάκις πλέοντα  
 κώπην λαβεῖν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν οἰκέτην καὶ ὀνόματα μαθεῖν τὰ ἐν τῇ  
 ναυτικῇ· [I.20] καὶ κυβερνήται ἀγαθοὶ γίνονται δι' ἐμπειρίαν τε τῶν  
 πλόων καὶ διὰ μελέτην· ἐμελέτησαν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλοῖον κυβερνῶντες, οἱ δὲ  
 ὀλκάδα, οἱ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τριήρεσι κατέστησαν· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ ἐλαύνειν 25  
 εὐθέως οἰοί τε εἰσβάντες εἰς ναῦς, ἅτε ἐν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ προμεμελετηκότες.  
 [II.1] τὸ δὲ ὀπλιτικὸν αὐτοῖς, ὃ ἥκιστα δοκεῖ εὖ ἔχειν Ἀθήνησιν, οὕτω  
 καθέστηκεν καὶ τῶν μὲν πολεμίων ἥττους τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡγοῦνται εἶναι  
 καὶ ὀλείζους, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων οἱ φέρουσι τὸν φόρον καὶ κατὰ γῆν  
 κράτιστοί εἰσι, καὶ νομίζουσι τὸ ὀπλιτικὸν ἀρκεῖν εἰ τῶν συμμάχων 30  
 κρείττονές εἰσι. [II.2] πρὸς δὲ κατὰ τύχην τι αὐτοῖς τοιοῦτον καθέστηκεν·  
 τοῖς μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἀρχομένοις οἶόν τ' ἐστίν ἐκ μικρῶν πόλεων  
 συνοικισθέντας ἀθρόους μάχεσθαι· τοῖς δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχομένοις,  
 ὅσοι νησιῶταί εἰσιν, οὐχ οἶόν τε συνάρασθαι εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τὰς πόλεις· ἢ

8-9 ἄμεινον . . . ζευγὸς ἐστίν ABC: om. M 13 τὸν Ἀθηναίων AC: τῶν  
 Ἀθηναίων BM 18 τοῦ δήμου ABM: om. C 23 ναυτικῇ ABM: ἀπτικῇ C  
 24 πλόων ABC: πλοίων M; ἐμελέτησαν . . . κυβερνῶντες M: om. ABC  
 25 τριήρεσι ABC: τριήρη M 26 εὐθέως Wells: εὐθὺς ὡς ABCM; οἰοί τε  
 ABM: οἶόν τε C; εἰς ναῦς seclisit Wilamowitz; παντὶ τῷ ABM: τῷ παντὶ  
 C; προμεμελετηκότες M: προσμεμελετηκότες ABC 27 οὕτω CM: οὕτως  
 AB 29 ὀλείζους Wilamowitz: μείζους ABCM 30 ἀρκεῖν Courier: ἀρχεῖν  
 ABCM

γὰρ θάλαττα ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, οἱ δὲ κρατοῦντες θαλασσοκράτορες εἰσιν. εἰ δ' οἷόν τε καὶ λαθεῖν συνελθοῦσιν εἰς ταῦτό τοις νησιώταις εἰς μίαν νῆσον, ἀπολοῦνται λιμῶ· [II.3] ὁπόσαι δ' ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ εἰσὶ πόλεις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀρχόμεναι, αἱ μὲν μεγάλαι διὰ δέος ἄρχονται, αἱ δὲ μικραὶ πάνυ διὰ χρείαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ πόλις οὐδεμία ἣτις οὐ δεῖται εἰσάγεσθαι τι ἢ ἐξάγεσθαι· ταῦτα τοίνυν οὐκ ἔσται αὐτῇ, ἐὰν μὴ ὑπήκοος ᾖ τῶν ἀρχόντων τῆς θαλάττης. [II.4] ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῆς θαλάττης οἷόν τ' ἐστὶ ποιεῖν, ἅπερ τοῖς τῆς γῆς ἐνίοτε, τέμνειν τὴν γῆν τῶν κρειττόνων· παραπλεῖν γὰρ ἔξεστιν ὅπου ἂν μηδεὶς ἢ πολέμιος ἢ ὅπου ἂν ὀλίγοι, ἐὰν δὲ προσίωσιν, ἀναβάντα ἀποπλεῖν· καὶ τοῦτο ποιῶν ἦττον ἀπορεῖ ἢ ὁ πεζῇ παραβοηθῶν. [II.5] ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖς μὲν κατὰ θάλατταν ἄρχουσιν οἷόν τε ἀποπλεῦσαι ἀπὸ τῆς σφετέρας αὐτῶν ὁπόσον βούλει πλοῦν, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ γῆν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἀπὸ τῆς σφετέρας αὐτῶν ἀπελθεῖν πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδόν· βραδεῖαί τε γὰρ αἱ πορεῖαι καὶ σῆτον οὐχ οἷόν τε ἔχειν πολλοῦ χρόνου πεζῇ ἰόντα· καὶ τὸν μὲν πεζῇ ἰόντα δεῖ διὰ φιλίας ἰέναι ἢ νικᾶν μαχόμενον, τὸν δὲ πλέοντα, οὗ μὲν ἂν ἢ κρείττων, ἔξεστιν ἀποβῆναι . . . ταύτης τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ παραπλεῦσαι, ἕως ἂν ἐπὶ φιλίαν χώραν ἀφίκηται ἢ ἐπὶ ἦττους αὐτοῦ. [II.6] ἔπειτα νόσους τῶν καρπῶν, αἱ ἐκ Διός εἰσιν, οἱ μὲν κατὰ γῆν κράτιστοι χαλεπῶς φέρουσιν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν ῥαδίως· οὐ γὰρ ἅμα πᾶσα γῆ νοσεῖ, ὥστε ἐκ τῆς εὐθηνούσης ἀφικνεῖται τοῖς τῆς θαλάττης ἄρχουσιν.

[II.7] Εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ σμικροτέρων μνησθῆναι, διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς θαλάττης πρῶτον μὲν τρόπους εὐωχιῶν ἐπιμισγόμενοι ἄλλῃ ἄλλοις· ὅ τι ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἢ δὴ ἢ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἢ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἢ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἢ ἐν Λυδίᾳ ἢ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ ἢ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἢ ἄλλοθι που, ταῦτα πάντα εἰς ἐν ἡθροίσθῃ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς θαλάττης. [II.8] ἔπειτα φωνὴν πᾶσαν ἀκούοντες ἐξελέξαντο τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ τῆς, τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ τῆς· καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἰδίᾳ μᾶλλον καὶ φωνῇ καὶ διαίτῃ καὶ σχήματι χρῶνται, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κεκραμένη ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων. [II.9] θυσίας δὲ καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ ἑορτὰς καὶ τεμένη, γνοὺς ὁ δῆμος ὅτι οὐχ οἷόν τέ ἐστὶν ἐκάστω τῶν πενήτων θύειν καὶ εὐχεῖσθαι καὶ ἵστασθαι ἱερὰ καὶ πόλιν οἰκεῖν καλὴν καὶ μεγάλην, ἐξηῦρεν ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἔσται ταῦτα. θύουσιν οὖν δημοσίᾳ μὲν ἢ πόλις ἱερεῖα πολλά· ἔστι δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ εὐωχούμενος καὶ διαλαγχάνων τὰ ἱερεῖα. [II.10] καὶ γυμνάσια καὶ λουτρὰ καὶ ἀποδυτήρια τοῖς μὲν πλουσίοις ἐστὶν ἰδίᾳ ἐνίοις, ὁ δὲ δῆμος αὐτὸς αὐτῷ οἰκοδομεῖται ἰδίᾳ

3 δ' ἐν ABM: δέ C 16 lac. stat. Kirchhoff; ταύτης ABM: ἐνταῦθα C 16-17  
γῆς ἀλλὰ AB: γῆς ἄλλα M: γῆς οὐ δ' ἂν μὴ ἢ μὴ ἀποβῆναι ἀλλὰ C 20 εὐθηνούσης  
Dindorf: εὐθηνούσης ABCM 20-21 ἀφικνεῖται τοῖς . . . ἄρχουσιν ABM:  
τοῖς . . . ἄρχουσιν ἀφικνεῖται C 23-24 ἄλλῃ ἄλλοις Kirchhoff: ἀλλήλοισ  
ABCM. 26 ἡθροίσθῃ Leonclavius: ἡθροῖσθαι ABCM: ἡθροισται Kalinka  
31 ἵστασθαι Kirchhoff: κτᾶσθαι ABCM

παλαιστρας πολλὰς, ἀποδυτήρια, λουτρῶνας· καὶ πλείω τούτων ἀπολαύει  
ὁ ὄχλος ἢ οἱ ὀλίγοι καὶ οἱ εὐδαίμονες.

[II.11] Τὸν δὲ πλοῦτον μόνοι οἱοί τ' εἰσὶν ἔχειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν  
βαρβάρων. εἰ γὰρ τις πόλις πλουτεῖ ξύλοις ναυπηγησίμοις, ποῖ διαθήσεται,  
ἐὰν μὴ πείσῃ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῆς θαλάττης; τί δ' εἴ τις σιδήρῳ ἢ χαλκῷ 5  
ἢ λίνῳ πλουτεῖ πόλις, ποῖ διαθήσεται, ἐὰν μὴ πείσῃ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῆς  
θαλάττης; ἐξ αὐτῶν μέντοι τούτων καὶ δὴ νῆές μοι εἰσι, παρὰ μὲν τοῦ  
ξύλα, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ σίδηρος, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ χαλκός, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ λίνου, παρὰ  
δὲ τοῦ κηρός. [II.12] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἄλλοσε ἄγειν οὐκ ἐάσουσιν οἱ τινες 10  
ἀντίπαλοι ἡμῖν εἶσιν ἢ οὐ χρήσονται τῇ θαλάττῃ. καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲν ποιῶν  
ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντα ταῦτα ἔχω διὰ τὴν θάλατταν, ἄλλῃ δ' οὐδεμία πόλις δύο  
τούτων ἔχει· οὐδ' ἐστὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ξύλα καὶ λίνον, ἀλλ' ὅπου λίνον ἐστὶ  
πλεῖστον, λεία χώρα καὶ ἄξυλος· οὐδὲ χαλκός καὶ σίδηρος ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς  
πόλεως οὐδὲ τὰλλα δύο ἢ τρία μιᾷ πόλει, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν τῇ, τὸ δὲ τῇ.

[II.13] Ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις παρὰ πᾶσαν ἡπειρόν ἐστιν ἡ ἀκτὴ προέχουσα 15  
ἢ νήσος προκειμένη ἢ στενόπορόν τι ὥστε ἕξεστιν ἐνταῦθα ἐφορμοῦσι  
τοῖς τῆς θαλάττης ἄρχουσι λωβᾶσθαι τοὺς τὴν ἡπειρον οἰκοῦντας.

[II.14] Ἐνὸς δὲ ἐνδεεῖς εἰσιν· εἰ γὰρ νῆσον οἰκοῦντες θαλασσοκράτορες  
ἦσαν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑπῆρχεν ἂν αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν μὲν κακῶς, εἰ ἡβούλοντο,  
πάσχειν δὲ μηδέν, ἕως τῆς θαλάττης ἦρχον, μηδὲ τμηθῆναι τὴν ἑαυτῶν 20  
γῆν μηδὲ προσδέχεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους· νῦν δὲ οἱ γεωργοῦντες καὶ οἱ  
πλούσιοι Ἀθηναίων ὑπέρχονται τοὺς πολεμίους μᾶλλον, ὁ δὲ δῆμος, ἅτε  
εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν σφῶν ἐμπρήσουσιν οὐδὲ τεμοῦσιν, ἀδεῶς ζῇ καὶ οὐχ  
ὑπερχόμενος αὐτούς. [II.15] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἐτέρου δέους ἀπηλ- 25  
λαγμένοι ἂν ἦσαν, εἰ νῆσον ᾤκουν, μηδέποτε προδοθῆναι τὴν πόλιν ὑπ'  
ὀλίγων μηδὲ πύλας ἀνοιχθῆναι μηδὲ πολεμίους ἐπείσπεσεῖν· πῶς γὰρ νῆσον  
οἰκούντων ταῦτ' ἂν ἐγίγνετο; μηδ' αὖ στασιάσαι τῷ δήμῳ μηδένα, εἰ  
νῆσον ᾤκουν· νῦν μὲν γὰρ εἰ στασιάσαιεν, ἐλπίδα ἂν ἔχοντες ἐν τοῖς  
πολεμίοις στασιάσαιεν ὡς κατὰ γῆν ἐπαξίόμενοι· εἰ δὲ νῆσον ᾤκουν, καὶ 30  
ταῦτα ἂν ἀδεῶς εἶχεν αὐτοῖς. [II.16] ἐπειδὴ οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὐκ ἔτυχον  
οἰκήσαντες νῆσον, νῦν τάδε ποιοῦσι· τὴν μὲν οὐσίαν ταῖς νήσοις παρατίθενται  
πιστεύοντες τῇ ἀρχῇ τῇ κατὰ θάλατταν, τὴν δὲ Ἀττικὴν γῆν περιορῶσι  
τεμνομένην, γινώσκοντες ὅτι εἰ αὐτὴν ἐλεήσουσιν ἐτέρων ἀγαθῶν  
μειζόνων στερήσονται.

5 πείσῃ τοὺς ἄρχοντας AB: πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας C: πείσῃ τὸν ἄρχοντα M  
6 ἐὰν μὴ πείσῃ ABM: εἰ μὴ πρὸς C; τοὺς ἄρχοντας Kirchhoff: τὸν ἄρχοντα ABCM  
9 οἱ τινες Renehan: οἷτινες ACM: εἴ τινες B (εἴ in ras.) 13 λεία χώρα καὶ  
ἄξυλος ABM: λεία καὶ ἄξυλος χώρα C 15 προέχουσα ABM: προύχουσα C  
19 ἡβούλοντο ABM: ἐβούλοντο C 27 ἂν ABC: om. M; μηδένα Faltin: μηδέν  
ABCM 28 γὰρ ABC: γὰρ ἂν M 30 εἶχεν αὐτοῖς AB: ὑπῆρχεν αὐτοῖς  
C: αὐτοῖς εἶχεν M 32 πιστεύοντες ABM: πιστεύσαντες C



[II.17] Ἔτι δὲ συμμαχίας καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ταῖς μὲν ὀλιγαρχουμέναις πόλεσιν ἀνάγκη ἐμπεδοῦν· ἣν δὲ μὴ ἐμμένωσι ταῖς συνθήκαις ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδικῆ, ὀνόματα ἀπὸ τῶν ὀλίγων οἱ συνέθεντο. ἄσσα δ' ἂν ὁ δῆμος συνθῆται, ἕξεσιν αὐτῷ, ἐνὶ ἀνατιθέντι τὴν αἰτίαν τῷ λέγοντι καὶ τῷ ἐπιψηφίσαντι, ἀρνεῖσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅτι οὐ παρῆν οὐδὲ ἀρέσκει οἷ γε τὰ συγκεκριμένα 5  
 ἥπυνθάνονται· ἐν πλήρει τῷ δήμῳ· καὶ εἰ μὴ δόξαι εἶναι ταῦτα, προφάσεις μυρίας ἐξήρρηκε τοῦ μὴ ποιεῖν ὅσα ἂν μὴ βούλωνται. καὶ ἂν μὲν τι κακὸν ἀναβαίνει ἀπὸ ὧν ὁ δῆμος ἐβούλευσεν, αἰτιάται ὁ δῆμος ὡς ὀλίγοι ἄνθρωποι αὐτῷ ἀντιπράττοντες διέφθειραν· ἐὰν δέ τι ἀγαθόν, σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν αἰτίαν ἀνατιθέασι. [II.18] κωμωδεῖν δ' αὖ καὶ κακῶς λέγειν τὸν μὲν 10  
 δῆμον οὐκ ἐῷσιν, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ ἀκούωσι κακῶς· ἰδίᾳ δὲ κελεύουσιν, εἰ τίς τινα βούλεται, εἰ εἰδότες ὅτι οὐχὶ τοῦ δήμου ἐστὶν οὐδὲ τοῦ πλήθους ὁ κωμωδούμενος ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, ἀλλ' ἢ πλούσιος ἢ γενναῖος ἢ δυνάμενος, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες τῶν πενήτων καὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν κωμωδοῦνται καὶ οὐδ' οὗτοι ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πολυπραγμοσύνην καὶ διὰ τὸ ζητεῖν πλεόν τι ἔχειν τοῦ 15  
 δήμου, ὥστε οὐδὲ τοὺς τοιούτους ἄχθονται κωμωδομένους. [II.19] φημὶ οὖν ἔγωγε τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθήνησι γινώσκειν οἷτινες χρηστοὶ εἰσι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ οἷτινες πονηροί, γινώσκοντες δὲ τοὺς μὲν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδεῖους καὶ συμφόρους φιλοῦσι, κἂν πονηροὶ ᾧσι, τοὺς δὲ χρηστοὺς μισοῦσι μᾶλλον· οὐ γὰρ νομίζουσι τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τῷ σφετέρῳ 20  
 ἀγαθῷ πεφυκέναι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ κακῷ· καὶ τούναντίον γε τούτου ἔνιοι, ὄντες ὡς ἀληθῶς τοῦ δήμου, τὴν φύσιν οὐ δημοτικοὶ εἰσι. [II.20] δημοκρατίαν δ' ἐγὼ μὲν αὐτῷ τῷ δήμῳ συγγινώσκω· αὐτὸν μὲν γὰρ εὖ ποιεῖν παντὶ συγγνώμη ἐστίν· ὅστις δὲ μὴ ὦν τοῦ δήμου εἴλετο ἐν δημοκρατουμένῃ πόλει οἰκεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν ὀλιγαρχουμένῃ, ἀδικεῖν παρεσκεύασατο καὶ ἔγνω 25  
 ὅτι μᾶλλον οἷόν τε διαλαθεῖν κακῷ ὄντι ἐν δημοκρατουμένῃ πόλει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν ὀλιγαρχουμένῃ. [III.1] καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας τὸν μὲν τρόπον οὐκ ἐπαινῶ· ἐπειδὴ περ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς δημοκρατεῖσθαι, εὖ μοι δοκοῦσι διασώζεσθαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ χρώμενοι ᾧ ἐγὼ ἐπέδειξα. 30

Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τάδε τινὰς ὁρῶ μεμφομένους Ἀθηναίους ὅτι ἐνίοτε οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτόθι χρηματίζειν τῇ βουλῇ οὐδὲ τῷ δήμῳ ἐνιαυτὸν καθημένῳ

22-27 Cf. Stob., *Anth.* 4.1.51 δημοκρατίαν δ' ἐγὼ αὐτῷ μὲν τῷ δήμῳ συγγινώσκω, ἑαυτὸν μὲν γὰρ εὖ ποιεῖν πάντῃ συγγνώμη ἐστίν, ὅστις δὲ μὴ ὦν τοῦ δήμου εἴλετο ἐν δημοκρατουμένῃ πόλει οἰκεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ὀλιγαρχουμένῃ ἀδικεῖν παρεσκεύασατο καὶ ἔγνω ὅτι μᾶλλον οἷόν τε διαλαθεῖν κακῷ ὄντι ἐν δημοκρατουμένῃ πόλει ἢ ἐν ὀλιγαρχουμένῃ.

2-3 ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδικῆ Frisch: ὑφ' ὅτου ἀδικεῖ ABCM 5 οἷ γε AM: εἰ γε B: εἰ γε μὴν C 17 οὖν ABC: μὲν οὖν M 23 μὲν αὐτῷ ABCM: αὐτῷ μὲν Stob.; παντὶ ABCM: πάντῃ Stob. 25 ἐν ante ὀλιγ. ABCM: om. Stob. 26 μᾶλλον post πόλει ABCM: om. Stob. 28 ἐπειδὴ περ ABM: ἐπειδὴ δ' C



ἀνθρώπων· καὶ τοῦτο Ἀθήνησι γίνεται οὐδὲν δι' ἄλλο ἢ <διότι> διὰ τὸ  
 πλῆθος τῶν πραγμάτων οὐχ οἰοί τε πάντας ἀποπέμπειν εἰς χρηματίσαντες.  
 [III.2] πῶς γὰρ ἂν καὶ οἰοί τε εἶεν, οὐστinas πρῶτον μὲν δεῖ ἐορτάσαι  
 ἐορτάς ὅσας οὐδεμία τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων (ἐν δὲ ταύταις ἡττόν τινα  
 δυνατόν ἐστι διαπράττεσθαι τῶν τῆς πόλεως), ἔπειτα δὲ δίκας καὶ γραφὰς 5  
 καὶ εὐθύνas ἐκδικάζειν ὅσας οὐδ' οἱ σύμπαντες ἄνθρωποι ἐκδικάζουσι,  
 τὴν δὲ βουλήν βουλευέσθαι πολλὰ μὲν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, πολλὰ δὲ περὶ  
 πόρου χρημάτων, πολλὰ δὲ περὶ νόμων θέσεως, πολλὰ δὲ περὶ τῶν κατὰ  
 πόλιν αἰεὶ γιγνομένων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις, καὶ φόρον δέξασθαι  
 καὶ νεωρίων ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ ἱερῶν; ἄρα δὴ τι θαυμαστόν ἐστιν εἰ τοσούτων 10  
 ὑπαρχόντων πραγμάτων μὴ οἰοί τ' εἰς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις χρηματίσαι;  
 λέγουσι δέ τινες· [III.3] ἦν τις ἀργύριον ἔχων προσήη πρὸς βουλήν ἢ  
 δῆμον, χρηματιεῖται. ἐγὼ δὲ τούτοις ὁμολογήσαιμ' ἂν ἀπὸ χρημάτων  
 πολλὰ διαπράττεσθαι Ἀθήνησι καὶ ἔτι ἂν πλείω διαπράττεσθαι εἰ πλείους 15  
 ἔτι ἐδίδουσαν ἀργύριον· τοῦτο μέντοι εὖ οἶδα διότι πᾶσι διαπράξαι ἢ πόλις  
 τῶν δεομένων οὐχ ἱκανή, οὐδ' εἰ ὅποσονοῦν χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον διδοίη  
 τις αὐτοῖς. [III.4] δεῖ δὲ καὶ τάδε διαδικάζειν, εἴ τις τὴν ναῦν μὴ ἐπι-  
 σκευάζει ἢ κατοικοδομεῖ τι δημόσιον· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις χορηγοῖς διαδικάσαι  
 εἰς Διονύσια καὶ Θαργῆλια καὶ Παναθήναια καὶ Προμήθια καὶ Ἥφαίστια 20  
 ὅσα ἔτη· καὶ τριήραρχοι καθίστανται τετρακόσιοι ἐκάστου ἐνιαυτοῦ, καὶ  
 τούτων τοῖς βουλομένοις διαδικάσαι ὅσα ἔτη· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀρχὰς  
 δοκιμάσαι καὶ διαδικάσαι καὶ ὀρφανοὺς δοκιμάσαι καὶ φύλακας δεσμωτῶν  
 καταστήσαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὅσα ἔτη. [III.5] διὰ χρόνου <δὲ> διαδικάσαι  
 δεῖ ἀστρατείας καὶ ἐάν τι ἄλλο ἐξαπιναιὸν ἀδίκημα γίγνηται, ἐάν τε 25  
 ὑβρίζωσί τινες ἄηθες ὕβρισμα, ἐάν τε ἀσεβήσωσι. πολλὰ ἔτι πάνυ  
 παραλείπω· τὸ δὲ μέγιστον εἴρηται πλὴν αἱ τάξεις τοῦ φόρου· τοῦτο δὲ  
 γίνεται ὡς τὰ πολλὰ δι' ἔτους πέμπτου. [III.6] φέρε δὴ τοῖνυν, ταῦτα οὐκ  
 οἶεσθαι <χρή> χρῆναι διαδικάζειν ἅπαντα; εἰπάτω γάρ τις ὅ τι οὐ χρῆν  
 αὐτόθι διαδικάζεσθαι. εἰ δ' αὖ ὁμολογεῖν δεῖ ἅπαντα χρῆναι διαδικάζειν,  
 ἀνάγκη δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ, ὡς οὐδὲ νῦν δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ δικάζοντες ὑπάρχουσιν 30  
 ὥστε παύειν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν ἀνθρώπων. [III.7]  
 φέρε δὴ, ἀλλὰ φήσει τις χρῆναι δικάζειν μὲν, ἐλάττους δὲ δικάζειν. ἀνάγκη  
 τοῖνυν, ἐὰν μὴ ὀλίγα ποιῶνται δικαστήρια, ὀλίγοι ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἔσονται τῷ  
 δικαστηρίῳ, ὥστε καὶ διασκευάσασθαι ῥάδιον ἔσται πρὸς ὀλίγους δικαστὰς

1 διότι add. Kirchhoff 2 πάντας C: πάντες (-ας superscr. man. prim.) M:  
 πάντες AB 11 ὑπαρχόντων BCM: ὑπερχόντων A 14 πλείω ABM: πολλῷ  
 πλείω C 15 ἔτι ἐδίδουσαν Cobet: ἐπεδίδουσαν ABCM 16 ὅποσονοῦν ABM:  
 ὁπόσον ἦν C 23 δέ add. F. Portus 24 ἀστρατείας Brodaeus: στρατιᾶς  
 AC: στρατιᾶς M: στρατιᾶ B 25 πάνυ ABM: om. C 28 χρή add.  
 Wachsmuth 29 ὁμολογεῖν δεῖ Leonclavius: ὁμολογεῖ δεῖν ABCM 33 ἐάν  
 μὴ Lβ m<sub>1</sub> per coniecturam: ἐάν μὲν ABCM

καὶ συνδεκάσαι, πολὺ ἦττον <δὲ> δικαίως δικάζειν. [III.8] πρὸς δὲ  
τούτοις οἷσθαι χρὴ καὶ ἑορτὰς ἄγειν χρῆναι Ἀθηναίους ἐν αἷς οὐχ οἷόν  
τε δικάζειν· καὶ ἄγουσι μὲν ἑορτὰς διπλασίους ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι· ἀλλ' ἐγὼ  
μὲν τίθημι ἴσας τῇ ὀλιγίστας ἀγούσῃ πόλει. τούτων τοίνυν τοιούτων  
ὄντων οὐ φημι οἷόν τ' εἶναι ἄλλως ἔχειν τὰ πράγματα Ἀθήνησιν ἢ ὥσπερ  
νῦν ἔχει, πλὴν εἰ κατὰ μικρόν τι οἷόν τε τὸ μὲν ἀφελεῖν τὸ δὲ προσθεῖναι,  
πολὺ δ' οὐχ οἷόν τε μετακινεῖν, ὥστε μὴ οὐχὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀφαιρεῖν τι.  
[III.9] ὥστε μὲν γὰρ βέλτιον ἔχειν τὴν πολιτείαν, οἷόν τε πολλὰ ἐξευρεῖν·  
ὥστε μέντοι ὑπάρχειν μὲν δημοκρατίαν εἶναι, ἀρκούντως δὲ τοῦτο  
ἐξευρεῖν ὅπως δὴ βέλτιον πολιτεύσονται, οὐ ῥάδιον, πλὴν ὅπερ ἄρτι  
εἶπον κατὰ μικρόν τι προσθέντα ἢ ἀφελόντα.

[III.10] Δοκοῦσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τοῦτό μοι οὐκ ὀρθῶς βουλευέσθαι  
ὅτι τοὺς χεῖρους αἰροῦνται ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς στασιαζούσαις. οἱ δὲ  
τοῦτο γνώμη ποιοῦσιν· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἤροῦντο τοὺς βελτίους, ἤρουντ' ἂν οὐχὶ  
τοὺς ταῦτά γιγνώσκοντας σφίσιν αὐτοῖς· ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ γὰρ πόλει τὸ βέλτιστον  
εὔνουν ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ, ἀλλὰ τὸ κάκιστον ἐν ἐκάστῃ ἐστὶ πόλει εὔνουν τῷ  
δήμῳ· οἱ γὰρ ὁμοῖοι τοῖς ὁμοίοις εὐνοοὶ εἰσι· διὰ ταῦτα οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ  
σφίσιν αὐτοῖς προσήκοντα αἰροῦνται. [III.11] ὅποσάκις δ' ἐπεχείρησαν  
αἰρεῖσθαι τοὺς βελτίστους, οὐ συνήνεγκεν αὐτοῖς· ἀλλ' ἐντὸς ὀλίγου χρόνου  
ὁ δῆμος ἐδούλευσεν ὁ ἐν Βοιωτοῖς. τοῦτο δὲ ὅτε Μιλησίων εἵλοντο τοὺς  
βελτίστους, ἐντὸς ὀλίγου χρόνου ἀποστάντες τὸν δῆμον κατέκοψαν· τοῦτο  
δὲ ὅτε εἵλοντο Λακεδαιμονίους ἀντὶ Μεσσηνίων, ἐντὸς ὀλίγου χρόνου  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι καταστρεψάμενοι Μεσσηνίους ἐπολέμουν Ἀθηναίους.

[III.12] Ὑπολάβοι δὲ τις ἂν ὥς οὐδεὶς ἄρα ἀδίκως ἡτίμωται Ἀθήνησιν.  
ἐγὼ δὲ φημί τινες εἶναι οἱ ἀδίκως ἡτίμωνται, ὀλίγοι μέντοι τινές. ἀλλ'  
οὐκ ὀλίγων δεῖ τῶν ἐπιθησομένων τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ τῇ Ἀθήνησιν· ἐπεὶ τοι  
καὶ οὕτως ἔχει, οὐ δεῖ ἐνθυμείσθαι ἀνθρώπους εἴ τινες δικαίως ἡτίμωνται,  
ἀλλ' εἴ τινες ἀδίκως. [III.13] πῶς ἂν οὖν ἀδίκως οἷοιτό τις ἂν τοὺς  
πολλοὺς ἡτιμῶσθαι Ἀθήνησιν, ὅπου ὁ δῆμός ἐστιν ὁ ἄρχων τὰς ἀρχάς;  
ἐκ δὲ τοῦ μὴ δικαίως ἄρχειν μηδὲ λέγειν τὰ δίκαια <μηδέ> πράττειν,  
ἐκ τοιούτων ἄτιμοί εἰσιν Ἀθήνησι. ταῦτα χρὴ λογιζόμενον μὴ νομίζειν  
εἶναί τι δεινὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀτίμων Ἀθήνησιν.

1 συνδεκάσαι Matthiae: συνδικάσαι ABCM; δέ post ἦττον add. Kalinka  
4 ὀλιγίστας CM: ὀλιγούσας AB 8 οἷόν τε Ma m<sub>2</sub> per coniecturam:  
οἷονται ABCM 9 μὲν δημοκρατίαν ABC: δημοκρατίαν μὲν M 10 δὴ scripsi:  
δέ ABM: om. C 16-17 ἀλλὰ... δήμῳ M: om. ABC 17 εὐνοοὶ ABC:  
εὐνοὶ M 20 ὁ ἐν Madvig: ὁ μὲν ABM: τοῦτο μὲν C 27 οὐ δεῖ H. Fraenkel:  
οὐδέν ABCM; εἴ τινες ante δικαίως Bergk: οἵτινες ABCM; ἡτίμωνται Elmsley:  
τιμῶνται ABCM 30 μηδέ post δίκαια add. H. Stephanus



## ADNOTATIVNCVLAE IN SERVIVM

WENDELL CLAUSEN

Words that appear only in Servius auctus are italicized.

### I

*Aen.* 1.349 IMPIVS ANTE ARAS probauit impium, qui ante aras.  
*et singula pronuntianda.*

*pronuntianda* Thilo: *pronuntiant* codd.:  
*pronuntiantur* edd. Haruardiani

*Aen.* 2.733 'NATE <EXCLAMAT FVGE NATE PROPINQV-  
ANT> haec singula pronuntianda sunt, quia perturbatis iugis non datur  
sermo'; 4.19 'HVIC VNI FORSAN POTVI SVCCVMBERE  
CVLPAE... singula pronuntianda sunt; ingenti enim dicta sunt  
libra, quibus confessioni desiderii sui quandam inicit refrenationem';  
4.93 'EGREGIAM VERO LAVDEM... *singula autem hic pro-*  
*nuntianda sunt et morandum in singulis uerbis; habent enim singula*  
*inuidiam*'; 12.800 'DESINE IAM TANDEM singula pronuntianda  
sunt. *dicendo autem "tandem" odium perseuerantis ostendit.*' *Aen.* 1.364  
'DVX FEMINA FACTI *pronuntiandum quasi mirum*'; 9.56 'ARMA  
VIROS uehementius "*uiros*" *pronuntiandum*'; 11.163 'ME uehementius  
*pronuntiandum*'; 11.258 '*sed si "omnes," mire, ne putes forte factum. et*  
*adiuuandum pronuntiatione*'; 11.265 'LIBYCONE HABITANTES  
LITORE LOCROS... *et pronuntiandum ut longinquitas doceatur*  
*exilii*'; 11.303 'NON TEMPORE TALI *adiuuandum pronuntiatione*';  
*Buc.* 8.32 'O DIGNO CONIUNCTA VIRO iam insultat puellae. *ergo*  
*sic pronuntiandum ut habeat contemptum*'; *Georg.* 1.146 'DVRIS  
VRGENS IN REBVS EGESTAS... *et bene expresse dixit, ideoque*  
*singula pronuntiatione adiuuanda sunt.*'

### II

*Aen.* 2.442 POSTESQVE SVB IPSOS si circa portam, 'sub  
postibus'; si circa fenestras, 'circa postes.'

For 'circa postes' read 'sub postes.'

## III

*Aen.* 2.632 est etiam in Cypro simulacrum barbatae Veneris, *corpore et ueste muliebri, cum sceptro et natura uirili, quod* Ἀφρόδι-  
τον uocant, cui uiri in ueste muliebri, mulieres in uirili  
ueste sacrificant.

*natura]* *statura* Macrob. 3.8.2

Delete *ueste* after *uirili*. Macrob. 3.8.3 'Philochorus quoque in Atthide eandem adfirmat esse lunam et ei sacrificium facere uiros cum ueste muliebri, mulieres cum uirili, quod eadem et mas aestimatur et femina.' See below on *Aen.* 8.429.

## IV

*Aen.* 4.7 est etiam hystero-proteron in sensu: *prius est enim ut Aurora umbram dimoueat, post Phoebea lampas lustrat terras.*

Read *lustret*. *Aen.* 2.111 'et quibusdam hic hystero-logia uidetur: prius enim est ut Troiae laborem, post Aeneae casus ignoscat'; 4.14 'et est hystero-logia: nam prius est ut bella exhausserit, post fati iactatus sit'; *Buc.* 6.42 'ergo secundum fabulam hystero-logia est: nam prius fuit ut Prometheus crimen admitteret, post pateretur supplicia.'

## V

*Aen.* 8.429 nam cum dicit 'tris imbris torti radios,' Iouem significasse intellegitur; cum uero 'tris nubis aquosae,' Iunonem intellegit; cum autem 'rutili tris ignis,' Martem.

Delete *intellegit*. There are similar interpolations in Servius auctus on *Aen.* 8.125, 10.244, 11.539, *Georg.* 1.197, 3.176, 4.245, 298.

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## NOCTES PROPERTIANAE

G. P. GOOLD

THERE exists no good text of Propertius. The tradition, as it has come down to us, is incredibly damaged. Our manuscripts go back to an archetype, now lost, which survived the dark ages; it was, it would seem, disfigured by countless errors of every kind. The blemishes which mar the text of other Roman poets are far exceeded by the mutilation of this author's work. To turn from editions of Ovid to editions of Propertius resembles the experience of hearing the voice of Florence Foster Jenkins after listening to Tetrizzini, though even Florence rendering the Mad Scene from *Lucia* never quite attained the incoherent disharmony of the Queen of Elegies in the *textus receptus*. Still, the efforts of gifted scholars over half a millennium have collectively achieved some two thousand salutary recoveries of the original; and were some critic capable of recognizing all the true conjectures which have been effected in the work of this poet and embodying them in a new recension, he would be able to present the world of classical scholarship with what at the moment it does not possess: a good text of Propertius. Without a good text of Propertius no authentic appreciation of him is possible; indeed, without a good text of Propertius we cannot read him.

We shall not get one in a hurry. No man's judgement is infallible; no man's wits are equal to every problem. But we shall get one more quickly once it is demonstrated that our current texts and commentaries are shot through and through with error and misunderstanding. Such a demonstration I attempt in this discursive paper. I shall not begin at line 7 by refuting Enk's note (read *ei mihi* with Rossberg, *Jahrb. f.class.Phil.* 127 [1883] 66; independently Havet, *Not.Crit.sur Prop.* [1916] 6), but shall select illustrations of my thesis, preferring examples from Book 4, where I can then speak of the latest vulgate text, as represented by Barber's revised Oxford Classical Text of 1960, Georg Luck's edition of 1964, and Camps's annotated edition of 1965. Add to these Shackleton Bailey's *Propertiana* of 1956, and you have in their agreement the most up-to-date opinion about the text. They conspire to perfect agreement about the fourteen lines 4.8.47-60, of which five

couplets are quoted by Brooks Otis in the last volume of these *Studies*, he too agreeing to a word. This passage I proceed to examine as an introductory sample.

- 4.8.47      cantabant surdo, nudabant pectora caeco:  
                  Lanuuii ad portas, ei mihi, *solus* eram;  
                  cum subito rauci sonuerunt cardine postes,  
                  et leuia ad primos murmura facta Lares.

Cynthia has gone off to Lanuvium with her gigolo, and Propertius is trying to console himself. He has Teia on one side of him, and Phyllis on the other; Lygdamus is pouring out the wine; and a trio of entertainers is providing suitable music. But the sun does not shine for our hero: every time he gambles for a winning (*secundam*) ace, losing deuces turn up. "I had no ears for their song, I had no eyes for their bodies: alas, I was *alone* at the gates of Lanuvium." Let us consider Camps's annotation on verse 48: "i.e. for all he knew, the women might not have been there [Where? Does *Lanuuii ad portas* mean 'at Rome'?]; his mind was far away [What word indicates 'mind'?], at the gates of Lanuvium, looking for Cynthia [Not looking for Cynthia, but with her: his imagination was no more alone at the gates of Lanuvium than his person was alone on the Esquiline]." What Propertius wrote in place of the nonsensical *solus* is an adjective meaning "in my imagination," "pre-occupied (with)," "intent (upon)," that is: *totus* (Cuypers). The idiom may be illustrated from: Cic. *Ep. Att.* 5.10 *eram autem totus, crede mihi, tecum*; Hor. *Serm.* 1.9.2 *nescioquid meditans nugaram, totus in illis*; Ovid, *Fast.* 6.251 *in prece totus eram*.

But let us continue: "... when all of a sudden a strident clang came from the street door, and a low murmur was made in the front part of the house." Low? Cynthia had discovered that Propertius was entertaining lady friends in her absence, and had rushed to the house in a rage. Why the *low* murmur? Camps translates "low voices," and explains that this very well suits muffled voices — "Cynthia speaking to the porter, saying goodbye to her escort, etc." Arranging their next date, was she, and kissing him goodnight? And what about this "etc.," which surely conceals a story of some interest, if without delay Cynthia stormed into the peristyle with her hair in wild array? O sancta simplicitas! No Roman gallant obligingly escorted Cynthia to a rival lover's doorstep and there bade her a fond farewell. The poet represents her arriving unaccompanied, and in a flaming temper, as *cum subito rauci sonuerunt* indicates. Obviously Propertius wrote *nec leuia . . . murmura* (ς) "and a rumpus was heard in the front part of the house." By a common

turn of speech *nec leuia* means *et non leuia*, whilst *murmura* takes its colouring from its context, as at Lucr. 1.276, Virg. *Aen.* 1.55, and often. Baehrens corrected the same error at 3.2.16.

- 4.8.51      nec mora, cum totas resupinat Cynthia ualuas,  
                  non operosa comis, sed furibunda decens.  
          pocula mi digitos inter cecidere remissos,  
                  *palluerant*que ipso labra soluta mero.

Though it is a small point, balance demands the perfect tense: *palluerunt* (Livineius). Propertius has elsewhere availed himself of a short penult in the third person plural of the perfect indicative, and in every single case some medieval metrist has imported the pluperfect. At 4.7.15 the vulgate text is *iamne tibi exciderant* . . . ?, where we must of course read *exciderunt* ("Have you already forgotten?": cf. Ovid, *Her.* 12.71): Shackleton Bailey's note, like Camps's translation, takes no account of the temporal adverb. In 4.8.51-66 the poet employs graphic presents, which suggests that the verbs in 53f carry the force of present perfects: "The cup is fallen from my grasp; though dripping with wine, my lips are blenched."

- 4.8.55      fulminat illa oculis et quantum femina saeuit,  
                  spectaclum capta nec minus urbe fuit.  
          Phyllidos iratos in uultum conicit unguēs:  
                  *terrīta uicinas* Teia clamat *aquas*.

As everyone agrees, the meaning of Teia's shout is "Fire!" But what ghastly Latin! "Terrified Teia shouts neighbouring waters." *Clamat* is not the same as *poscit*; *uicinas* is the corruption of some reference to "neighbours"; and the natural way of shouting "Water!" in Latin involves the singular (Sen. *Ep.* 17.3; Juv. 3.198). Since *clamare* of shouts introduces direct speech (e.g., in verse 14 of this poem) and in the same situation a Greek shouted *ῥῆμα, ῥῆμα, ὦ γέτρος* (Aristoph. *Thesm.* 241), I have no doubt that Palmer is right in proposing the apt and lively *terrīta* 'uicini!' *Teia clamat* 'aquam!'

Now *uicini* . . . *aquā* did not become *uicinas* . . . *aquas* by a process of accidental palaeographical corruption. The change was designed and deliberate: it would appear that some Propertias failed to recognize or understand the direct speech, and effected a spurious noun-adjective agreement. Not this once only, but hundreds of times shall we detect the cloven hoof of this booby in the text of our poet.

- 4.8.59      *lumina* sopitos turbant elata Quirites,  
                  omnis et insana semita *nocte* sonat.

Naturally, all hell broke loose. Neighbours were roused from their beds, and the whole street rang with frenzied — frenzied what? According to the manuscripts and editors, frenzied night. But in Propertius (and other Latin authors) it is not night, *nox*, which causes a place to resound, but voice, *uox*: cf. 3.8.2 *uocis et insanae tot maledicta tuae*; 4.1.134 *et uetat insano uerba tonare foro*. When Hertzberg painfully gathers examples of *nox non ebria* and the like from Martial and other Latin poets (what relevance can Virgil's *noctes silentes* possibly have?), he quite misses the point at issue. Ten thousand examples of *nox insana* would not establish the authenticity of the phrase *nocte sonare*: the verse would still require emendation. No one has ever denied that *nox insana* is perfectly good Latin for "frenzied night," or could stand for *nocturna insania* "night's frenzy." But since *nox* does not carry a connotation of sound, and — in point of sound — there is no difference between diurnal and nocturnal frenzy, we conclude with Fruter that Propertius here, as Ovid at *Her.* 11.74, wrote *insana . . . uoce sonat*.

A further problem remains. "Lights carried out arouse the slumbering citizens, and the whole street rings with frenzied shouts." How can "lights" have aroused the neighbours? And why "carried out" (or "raised high")? Says Camps: "Carrying torches, they [Hardly: Propertius was petrified, Cynthia was scratching Phyllis' eyes out, and Teia was yelling blue murder: verses 61f make it clear that, when the three women burst out of the house, none was carrying a torch], or some neighbours [No: they were asleep], rush out into the street and the glare [Shining through brick walls?] wakes and alarms the other neighbours." Not light but sound woke the street, as the pentameter confirms. What Propertius wrote was *crimina sopitos turbant elata Quirites* "Screams of abuse . . ."; cf. Ovid, *Ars* 3.375 *crimina dicuntur, resonat clamoribus aether*.

There is one more conjecture which, though I do *not* insist on its correctness, merits consideration. Housman (*JP* 16 [1888] 14 and 15) proposes to transpose 4.4.71–72 after 4.8.52. The import of that couplet, "She rushes like an Amazon," disqualifies it for its present location: the Amazons abandoned love for war, and Propertius never compared Tarpeia to an Amazon at the very instant Vesta decided to add fuel to her infatuation for Tatius. On the other hand, the description would suit Cynthia in 4.8 very well, perhaps even better if Baehrens' *furit* for *ruit* be right: with *furibunda decens* the commentators compare Ovid, *Am.* 1.14.21 *neglecta decens*, words followed by a similar simile. Someone will ask, how on earth could the couplet have been transposed to the poem about Tarpeia? It *could* have happened thus: the couplet



reminds us of the simile in Virg. *Aen.* 11.659ff, elaborating the Amazonian spirits of Camilla and her attendants Larina, Tulla, and — *Tarpeia*. Possibly some reader of Propertius noted the parallel, and decided that the simile fitted Tarpeia better than Cynthia. Farfetched, I shall be told. No less farfetched than the similarly fantastic transposition of 1.2.1f after 4.5.54; and this is a fact. True, by having Propertius put on Acanthis' lips a couplet appropriate only on his own and (for naturally it does not fit) asserting that she utters it in contempt for its meaning (the reader can only divine this from quotation marks, for which I miss parallels before the invention of printing), and by ignoring the obvious explanation that the interpolated couplet is a gloss on *Coae uestis* — true, by such desperate devices we can deny this fact, but the Oxford text recognizes it, and I argue the matter no further.



§1. It will be apparent that the manuscript text justifies dark fears, and that interpolation has infected the tradition at a pre-archetypal stage. The archetype itself need not be much older than the thirteenth century. Many corruptions establish that it was copied from a minuscule exemplar, not least the corruption at:

4.7.69      sic mortis lacrimis uitae sanamus amores.

In the Elysian fields Andromeda and Hypermestra are telling Cynthia of the harrowing experiences suffered in the course of their love affairs: Andromeda relives her agony at being chained to the rock, Hypermestra her anguish at being called upon to murder her bridegroom. Then the ghost of Cynthia remarks: "Thus by tears in death we *heal* our loves in life," which Paley solemnly informs us is a beautiful sentiment. Equally without a soupçon of levity Shackleton Bailey (*Prop.* 253) explains that, although the poet has put Andromeda and Hypermestra on stage, he is suddenly reminded of Dido and other suicides in the wings, and that the habitual Propertian association of opposites leads him "into language not strictly" — a last gasp from logic — "appropriate to the two names which he happens to have singled out."

This "happening to single out" mythological examples with a complete absence of appropriateness does not accord with the behaviour of a rational man; singling out implies discrimination and design. In the very first poem the manuscripts have (16) *tantum in amore preces et benefacta ualent*, where *preces*, having no referend, is impugned by



Housman, *JP* 16 [1888] 23ff: pointing to examples of the interchange of *preces* and *fides* and proving that the context demands *fides*, he vindicated Fonteine's conjecture of the latter word. Actually, *fides et benefacta* is something of a theme in Latin poetry from Catullus (76.1-3) onwards. In rebuttal Shackleton Bailey can only say (*Prop.* 4): "... the lack of any reference to prayers in the preceding verses is hardly conclusive against the vulgate (despite Ovid, *A.A.* 2.187f). Propertius writes of Milanion's case but thinks rather of his own [Why then bring in Milanion at all?], in which *preces et benefacta* bulked large [Untrue: *fides* is much better supported by Propertian usage]."

Camps takes over the traditional line, by turning *sanamus* as "console ourselves for (*literally* try to heal)," that is *sanamus* here means *non sanamus*, and *amores* as "the wounds love caused us," as if *porcus* could mean indigestion, or *pugnis* a black eye. Still, let us grant the translation: what can Cynthia mean by saying that tears in death console the wounds of love in life?

If the two heroines were still capable of weeping when Cynthia met them, their emotions can hardly have been healed. And the poet's whole point is that they are not. Their love is not healed (whatever that may mean) but shown to last for ever by their memory of the misfortunes over which it triumphed. Housman was so busy ridiculing Butler and Barber for their misinterpretation that he never got round to elucidating Rossberg's (*Luc. Prop.* 30) minute (*ci* for *a*) and certain correction, *sancimus*: "Thus by tears shed in Hades we confirm for eternity the love we gave on earth." Now this really is a beautiful and touching sentiment. Be mine the sweetheart who utters such words in the long hereafter!

In the last poem of the third book Propertius had lashed Cynthia's infidelity with a savage whip. The references to her in the last book suggest a degree of detachment on the poet's part, but no loss of affection. That their relationship had deteriorated by the time of her death, poem 4.7 makes sufficiently clear; but the old flame still burns brightly. And by deliberately placing immediately after his mistress's epitaph a poem telling of their passionate liaison, he means us to believe that the love affair of Propertius and Cynthia endures beyond the grave: at 4.8.88, when both he and she make their final appearance in his poetry, they do so together, and in each other's arms.



§2. The descendants of the archetype fall into two classes. N (about 1200) is the sole representative of the first, whereas the other survives in

numerous manuscripts, mostly interpolated with conjectures of the Italian humanists. Of this second group the oldest is A (about 1300). In it Ullman would recognize the parent manuscript (which after Baehrens and Housman I shall call O) of the whole class, and certainly we cannot often detect, where A is extant, a genuine tradition which may not have been derived from it. But this sometimes seems the case.

1.13.13      *haec ego non rumore malo, non augure doctus;*  
                 *uidi ego: me, quaeso, teste negare potes?*

Propertius is taunting his taunter Gallus, who has at last been transfixed by one of Cupid's darts: "This not from spiteful rumour or augury have I learned: I have seen with my own eyes." The absence of a finite verb is, however, a trifle rough; it provoked Haupt to alter *malo* into *aio*, which Koch endeavoured to improve with *loquor*. Further, *ego* in verse 13 much enfeebles the power of *ego* in verse 14, a power emphasized by the repetition of *uidi ego* in verse 15. An obvious solution to these difficulties would be to delete *ego* and substitute a finite verb. The same Rossberg has presented the editors of Propertius with the following pearl:

*haec non <SUM> RUMore malo, non augure doctus.*

Now both N and F (about 1380, the second oldest manuscript of the late group) in fact have *haec non rumore* etc., omitting *ego*. I agree with Rossberg that *haec non rumore* was the defective reading of the archetype: *ego* is a metrical stopgap, which need not go back farther than A. At any rate we must acknowledge that F faithfully preserves an archetypal reading corrupted in A. At 3.6.11 read *speculuM <IN> strato* (Heinsius); at 2.13.49 *non <AUT> ANTilochi* (Mueller). We find the same cause of trouble at:

4.11.23      *Sisyphe, mole uaces; taceant Ixionis orbes;*  
                 *fallax Tantaleo corripERE <ORE> liquor.*

"Frustrating water, be caught on 'Tantalus' lips" (Auratus). The loss left *corripere* filling the measure of an adonean; and it was then naturally expanded to *corripiare*: hence in the manuscripts we read *Tantaleo corripiare liquor*. The vulgate, based on a Renaissance conjecture, involves further corruption to *Tantaleus corripiare* "Frustrating Tantalean water, be caught": the infelicity of the double adjective, a pronounced infelicity in the case of a vocative, becomes yet more pronounced in view of the Latin poets' avoidance of adjectival nominatives in *-eus* as vocatives.

Rossberg (*Luc. Prop.* 31f) contends that the verbs in the hexameter demand the subjunctive in the pentameter. No, that is not so. The verbs of the hexameter are unlike: *uaces* is a second person, and virtually an imperative, see 4.2.19 and 4.6.14; *taceant* is a third person, breaking the formal sequence. The same variation of mood is found at 4.1.67f *Roma, faue . . . date . . . ciues / . . . cantet auis*.

Phillimore (*CR* 25 [1911] 138) considers the rhythm, by which I take him to mean the elision, of the conjecture detestable. This is a matter of taste, and some may prefer to hear in the words the eagerness of the catching lips. Be that as it may, the poet resorts to the elision *-e or-* in the same part of the pentameter at 3.7.4.

Auratus' conjecture was warmly received by Graevius and Burman and most scholars of rank up to the age of Lachmann and Haupt. Heinsius discovered the emendation for himself and cited 2.17.5f:

uel tu Tantalea moueare ad flumina sorte,  
ut liquor arenti fallat ab ore sitim.



§3. I shall not discuss here the complicated question of the relationship of A to O: the manuscript breaks off at 2.1.63. For most of Propertius we have to extricate the reading of O from the testimony of its descendants without any help from A. This is rarely a problem, as even the following crux will show.

4.3.11      haecne marita fides et <sup>†</sup>*parce auia noctes*<sup>†</sup>,  
cum rudis urgenti brachia uicta dedi?

Arethusa reproaches her absent husband: "Is this a husband's fidelity and . . . when I surrendered to your embraces?" So the reading of N. The other manuscripts have:

FL:    *pacatae mihi noctes*;  
PVo: *pactae iam mihi noctes*;  
DV:    *sunt pactae mihi noctes*.

Comparison with N enables one to draw the inference that O here gave *pactae mihi noctes* with one syllable missing, and that its descendants have made different attempts to mend the metre. Possibly the readings of PVoDV are attempts to improve on FL. However, *pactae* so fits the context that the word is unlikely to be corrupt save in its termination: Ovid, *Fast.* 3.485 *heu, ubi pacta fides*; *Her.* 20.7 *coniugium pactamque*

*fidem*. N's *parce*, therefore, I assume to be a corruption of *pacte* or rather *pactae*, *e* and *ae* being palaeographically much the same thing.

The phrase *pactae noctes* in elegiac verse only refers to extramarital assignations, a fact which also administers a knockout punch to patrons of the genitive *pactae noctis*. To Shackleton Bailey, who sees (*Prop.* 231) "no obvious reason why the phrase should not apply equally well to a wedding night: cf. Ovid, *Met.* 9.723 *coniugium pactaeque exspectat tempora taedae*," one may remark that *pacta taeda* "pledged nuptials" implies a wedding ring and a marriage certificate, whilst *pacta nox* "pledged favours" dispenses with jeweller and registrar alike. The context shows that what was pledged, was pledged by Lycotas to Arethusa, not by Arethusa to Lycotas: this cannot have been *nox* or *noctes*.

Should we now reconsider the manuscript evidence, *pactae auia noctes* (N), *pactae mihi noctes* O, we face the problem of reconciling the variation of the second word. Lighted by Rossberg's correction of 4.7.69 (*ci* for *a*), I observe that *auia* is all but identical with *cmia*. The superiority of N's sincerity over O's leads to the conclusion that *pactae mihi* is an attempt to make sense of *pactaec mia*, and that the original must be recovered from *pactaecmianoctes*, the reading of the archetype.

In a brilliant note (JP 21 [1893] 148f) Housman first divined the underlying meaning: Is your desertion the *reward* I merit for my surrender to your embraces? He conjectured *praemia* for the fifth foot. We can get this from the archetype by supposing the loss of no more than a single letter: . . . *pacta* (ha)*ec* <̄>*mia* . . . ("and is this the reward pledged?"): *pacta praemia* in Cic. *Ep. Q. F.* 3.3.2. Postgate, I should mention, subsequently proposed *pacta haec mihi praemia* in his Corpus edition, though to secure this he had to banish *et*, which seems free from suspicion. Thus, with Mueller's *noctis* (cf. 4.4.94 *praemia sortis*), we secure:

haecne marita fides, et *pacta haec praemia noctis*  
cum rudis urgenti bracchia uicta dedi?

"Is this a husband's fidelity and is this the reward you pledged for the night I surrendered to your embraces?"

I am tempted to see a corruption of *̄* (= *prae*) at:

4.7.19      saepe Venus triuio commissa est, pectore mixto  
fecerunt tepidas *pallia* nostra uias.

A conjunction is rather difficult to dispense with here, and Heinsius thought that the poet must have written *et*. The corruption assumed is



slight and easy, and could as likely have happened by chance as been made by someone who desired a finite verb. "In close embrace we warmed the ground with our . . .:" not *pallia* "garments" N (a most miserable conjecture, says Housman), nor *pectora* "breasts" O, nor yet *corpora* "bodies," a mere repetition of *pectore*, Rossberg; but *plia* "love-making," that is *praelia* or *proelia*, Luetjohann. The variants proffered by N and O suggest that we have to deal here, not with a random confusion of dactylic words, but separate attempts to extract sense from *p( )a*.

But possibly in the sequence of *-cpm-* at 4.3.11, *p* dropped out after *c*: at some stage of the transmission *p* was written in such a way as to look very much like *c* or *t*. Compare:

4.7.21        foederis heu *taciti*, cuius fallacia uerba  
                 non audituri diripuerunt Noti.

"Alas for that wordless bond" translates Butler, who then of course has to commit hara-kiri over *uerba*. If the bond was expressed in words which the winds swept away so as not to hear them, it was not wordless, or anything else which the adjective *tacitus* can signify. Cynthia means what Ovid more than once conveys in the words *heu, ubi pacta fides?* Read then *heu pacti* (Palmer). And turn to:

3.20.25        ergo, qui *pactas* in foedera ruperit aras,

where, like a man switching on the lights in a dark room, the younger Burman restored the ritualistic *tactis haec . . . aris*, comparing Virg. *Aen.* 12.201f *tango aras . . . / nulla dies pacem hanc . . . nec foedera rumpet*. The participle also gave trouble at:

3.7.88            et tu, materno *tracta* dolore, Theti.

The deities of the sea should have saved Paetus from drowning, "you, too, Thetis, who have been *drawn* by a mother's grief." Neither the manuscript reading nor Heinsius' *fracta* is worth the powder and shot of a self-respecting critic beside *tacta* (v): in the identical context Ovid writes, *Am.* 3.9.1f, *Memnona si mater, mater plorauit Achillem, / et tangunt magnas tristia fata deas* (cf. *Fast.* 3.201, *Met.* 7.688, *Pont.* 2.3.63). Thetis was not drawn from anywhere or to anywhere by a mother's grief, nor, inasmuch as she is reproached for inaction, was she smashed by it. The appeal is made to her because she has *known, felt, experienced* it: *tacta* (*dolore*) means "touched by," "affected by."



Housman's *praemia* prompts me to notice that on his death his executors — in deference to his wishes — destroyed a carefully prepared text of the whole of Propertius, complete with apparatus criticus, found among his papers (Gow, *A. E. Housman, A Sketch* [1936] 12). Whether, having promised a thing, a man is morally bound, whatever the circumstances, to carry out that promise with the conditioned reflex of a Pavlovian dog is a question of ethics upon which Cicero has written wise words in his *Offices*. It is not irrelevant here to uphold the honour as well as the intelligence of those attendants of the dying Virgil who in saving the *Aeneid* preferred a splendid duplicity to a course of high-principled vandalism. At all events, Housman's undestroyed work (which we are forbidden to collect and reprint) still contains plenty to teach the editors of Propertius. He had just turned thirty-three when his treatise "The Manuscripts of Propertius" appeared in the *Journal of Philology* (1893 and 1894: hereafter cited simply by volume and page number). Its sparkling wit and rigorous reasoning make it an exemplary model of criticism. His guns are trained on falsehoods, not personalities, and whilst he does not communicate an overwhelming impression of one who, like Abou Ben Adhem, loved his fellow men, still the treatise is devoid of the cruel polemic of his later work. He shared with his contemporaries some faulty opinion about the affiliation of the manuscripts; and the later researches of Postgate and Ullman necessitate some adjustment of his central thesis. Yet for the practical purpose of establishing the text of Propertius this adjustment is slight enough; and, limiting myself to Book 4, I give a few samples of his comment where the modern vulgate might pass for an antiquated Victorian text.

4.2.19 mendax fama, *noces*: alius mihi nominis index.

(21.192) "But the erroneous derivations of the name Vertumnus from 'uersus amnis' and 'uertens annus' which false report has noised abroad, are in no way *injurious* to the god: they are merely incorrect. DV offer *uaces* which . . . makes very good sense, 'give over, lying rumour,' 'be quiet.' . . . F gives what is obviously the parent of both readings, *uoces*: this is the older way of spelling *uaces*, and probably the only way Propertius knew, for 'uacare' first appears in inscriptions of Domitian's time. Our MSS indicate the same form through the slight disguise of *uorans* at II xxvi 54."

4.4.63 et iam quarta canit uenturam bucina lucem,  
ipsaque in Oceanum sidera *lapsa* cadunt.

(22.113) "With *lapsa* the addition of 'ipsa' is senseless: 'even the stars have fallen:' then something else has fallen; and what is that something

else? The context gives no reply. *lassa* v, which immediately invests 'ipsa' with a meaning: 'the stars, weary like me.' . . . Again in I iii 45,

dum me iucundis *lapsam* sopor inpulit alis,

one enquires 'unde quo lapsam?' and gets no answer: *lassam*, given by v, is intelligible."

4.6.21        altera, classis erat Teucro damnata Quirino,  
                  pilaque *feminea* turpiter *acta* manu.

(21.193) "*acta* DV, *apta* FN. At first sight the former may seem to get some support from Mart. spect. 6 6, where however 'acta' has quite a different meaning. But the context decides: Propertius here depicts the two fleets as they confronted one another before the battle of Actium: the battle does not begin till v. 55 where it is opened by the shafts of Apollo and then 'proxima post arcus Caesaris hasta fuit.' *acta* therefore is premature: we must read *apta*, and therewith Markland's *femineae*: the dative 'manu' was misunderstood as usual: compare II i 66 '*Tantaleae* poterit tradere poma manu,' *Tantalea* MSS." The same confusion occurs at 3.15.18 (*acta* NFLP, *apta* DV) where again *acta* is an interpolation (so, however, is *apta*: see below).

4.8.38        et Methymnaei *Graeca* saliua meri.

(21.178) "*greca* FN, *grata* DV. Propertius never uses the form 'Graecus,' and Roman poets in general prefer 'Graiuis;' most editors therefore accept the *Graia* which Palmerius built on *grata*. But since neither *Graia* nor *Graeca* conveys anything which is not already conveyed in 'Methymnaei' it may well be that *grata* itself is the true reading, = 'iucunda:' see Mart. XIII 21 'spina . . . non erit . . . *gratior* asparagis' and especially Plin. n.h. XIV 1 3 §16 'aliis (unis) *gratiam*, qui et *uinis*, affert fumus fabrilis' and ib. XXIII 1 22 §40, quoted by Passeratius, 'sua cuique *uino saliua* innocentissima, sua cuique aetas *gratissima*.'" Compare also Tib. 1.7.35f *illi iucundos primum matura saporis / expressa incultis uua dedit pedibus*; Ovid, *Pont.* 3.5.17f *quamquam sapor . . . dulcis . . . / gratius . . . bibuntur*; *Trist.* 4.1.32 *grata saporis*. Who ever talks about the European flavour of a French wine?

4.11.29        si cui fama fuit per auita tropaea decori,  
                  aera Numantinos regna loquuntur auos.

N has a page missing here, but from apographs its text is known to have been that given above. For *aera* O had *et*, probably an attempt to correct *era*. "If anyone has ever derived honour from the fame of his

ancestors' trophies, then (bronzes? kingdoms?) speak of their Numan-tine ancestors." The pentameter needs emendation. Housman (22.108): "Now as to the original sense of the verse there can be no doubt: it was 'nobis fama per auita tropaea decori est:' the 'si cui' of the hexameter, as Baehrens says, admits no other sequel. We may write

aera Numantinos *nostra* locuntur auos,

'the spoils of armour in our house tell of our ancestors who took Numantia.' The three first letters of '*nostra*' might be absorbed in the three last of 'Numantinos,' and the remaining *tra* corrected into the first word that came to hand. The above emendation was formerly proposed by Mr Palmer who afterwards abandoned it for the incoherent *Afra* . . . *regna* of Scaliger." This is surely correct: given *tra*, the first trochaic word that comes to my hand is *terra*, of which *regna* comes as the first plural equivalent, a plural being demanded by *loquuntur*. Richmond, who compares 3.3.52 *ora* . . . *nostra*, plausibly explains (ed., p. 394) *aera* as *tituli* (cf. 38) *aeneis litteris*. Palmer abandoned his conjecture because he thought Claudian's patent allusion, *Laus Ser.* 42f *claram Scipiadum taceat Cornelia gentem / seque minus iactet Libycis dotata tropaeis* constituted proof of *Afra*. One cannot make such precise inferences (and if one could, *se* would rather confirm *nostra*): Claudian is entitled to include 38 *sub quorum titulis, Africa, tunsae iaces* in his reference.

What reads the modern vulgate? Why, the incoherent *Afra* . . . *regna* of Scaliger.



§4. Usually a scrutiny of N and O enables us to recover the archetypal reading. Where some late manuscripts (such as DV) of the O group appear to exhibit a pre-archetypal text, they have probably reached the truth by conjecture. This seems proved in the following case.

2.34.53      nec si post Stygias aliquid *restabit erumnas*.

Shackleton Bailey's "Nothing approaching certainty is attainable here" (*Prop.* 134) is much too pessimistic.

The noun, as Housman asserts (22.88), is of course *undas*: no other word conveying the idea "after the crossing of the Styx" will even scan: *Stygias* . . . *undas* is a familiar phrase from 3.18.9, Ovid, *Ars* 2.41, and other passages. As to the verb, there can be no doubt about that, either: Ovid, *Am.* 3.9.59f *si tamen e nobis aliquid nisi nomen et umbra / restat*; *Trist.* 4.10.85 *si tamen extinctis aliquid nisi nomina restat*.

Inasmuch as *e nobis aliquid restat* is *aliquid restamus*, we are inexorably led to Wassenberg's *restabimus undas*.

Mark well the construction: Propertius uses *aliquid* as predicate, as in *sunt aliquid Manes*; Ovid makes *aliquid* the subject, but now it needs (and is given) a personal referend, *e nobis* or *extinctis* or the like. Hence Shackleton Bailey's favoured *restabit arenas* collapses (but in any case the Styx has neither sand nor beach). Munro's *rest arbiter* is ruled right out of court by this consideration, that *post* demands the future tense, and does not mean *trans*, as Housman and others misconstrue it.

But what really settles this crux is Palmer's explanation of its origin, which "nemo in arte critica tiro adeo rudis erit quin uideat," as he generously put it. Some medieval Propertian pounced on the imagined false concord of *aliquid restabimus*, and corrected it to — what else? — *aliquid restabit*; metre forbade the retention of *undas*, and the best cement he could manufacture was *erumnas* (the bacchiac scansion is not found before the fifth century).

Hence we must acknowledge that the *restauerit undas* of DV is entirely conjectural, since the nonclassical form of the verb can only be explained as an attempt to make music of *restabit*. Housman was unwise to build on a reading of DV at:

3.2.24      aut illis flamma aut imber subducet honores;  
annorum aut *ictu* pondere uicta ruent.

These verses occur in the peroration of the provocative poem which introduces Propertius' third book (for I follow many scholars from Muretus to Richmond in disregarding the manuscripts' division after verse 38) — provocative, I say, because we may well wonder how else Horace can have regarded this counterpart to *Carm.* 3.30, which he had recently published. The poet who claimed *princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos / deduxisse modos* hardly burst into unrestrained applause when his eyes fell on (3.1.3f):

primus ego ingredior puro de fonte sacerdos  
Itala per Graios orgia ferre choras.

Nor when he came to the end of the poem and read the elegiac version of *exegi monumentum aere perennius*. Occasional pleasantries by the Roman Callimachus (e.g., 4.8.40 *facilis spargi munda sine arte rosa*, cf. *Carm.* 1.5.1–5) encourage one to the view that he was not above poking fun at the Roman Alcaeus.

In lines 19ff Propertius is saying that his poetic monuments will live for ever, whereas pyramids will sooner or later perish. "Either fire or



rain will steal their glory from them; or of time . . . overcome by the weight they will perish." To pilot us to a correction of 25 we have excellent helmsmen in Horace (*innumerabilis* / *annorum series*) and Ovid (*Met.* 15.872: *edax . . . uetustas*). The sense is, either they will perish violently by being burnt down or blown down, or they will be reduced to a dilapidated condition by the gradual corrosion of time. Therefore, I argue, *ictu* must be wrong: whether we retain it in the singular (and can an *innumerabilis series* deliver a single blow?) or, with DV and Housman (22.89), alter it to the plural, the word imports the alien notion of a violent blow or violent blows. But grant for a moment that *ictu* is sound ("quod tamen minime placet propter duorum ablativorum concursum" Enk, *Comm. Crit.* 208 — but let us grant that, too), the vulgate *pondere uicta* will then mean "overborne by *their own* weight." Oh? So they are not destroyed by time after all, but collapse on account of their top-heavy architecture? And even then *suo* would be indispensable, as Shackleton Bailey (*Prop.* 139) all but realized from his own illustrations (Ovid, *Trist.* 2.86; *Anth. Lat.* 462.6; Mart. 1.82.6; Plin. *Ep.* 6.16.6: these, be it said, prove that *ruent* is intransitive).

Let me not stand between Propertius and his readers any longer. *Annorum* depends on *pondere*, and the meaning is "overcome by the pressure of the years"; *ictu* conceals an adjective agreeing with *pondere*. Massive though the buildings are, and seemingly able to last for ever, nevertheless, as the centuries pass by, decay sets in: stones crack, joints weaken, weeds appear; man can make repairs and restorations, but eventually it will not be worth his while to make any more; the buildings will have outlived their function and usefulness. Sooner or later, as the years multiply, so their corrosive pressure increases: time will conquer in the end. The metaphor of the heaviness of increasing age needs little illustration: Ovid, *Met.* 4.569 *annisque graues* "laden with years," 9.437f *senectae* / *pondera* "the weight of old age." Latin poetic style demands an adjective agreeing with *pondere*, which we look for and find in the corrupt *ictu*, namely *tacito* (Eldik). Of course, the meaning of the adjective is to be referred to *annorum*, cf. 4.2.28 *corbis in imposito pondere* "in the case of the weight of a basket-put-on-my-head." See Ovid, *Fast.* 6.771 *tempora labuntur, tacitisque senescimus annis*; *Pont.* 4.6.17 *tacito pede lapsa uetustas*; 4.10.27 *tacito passu labentibus annis*.



§5. A small residuum of readings given by DV, however, counsels caution, for here a corrupt reading closer to the truth than the reading



of NFL puts a heavy strain on the Postgate-Ullmanite theory. The words of 2.23.1 *cui fugienda fuit indocti semita uulgi* (Housman) were, on account of the long final syllable of *fuit*, transposed in the archetype to read *cui fuit indocti fugienda semita uulgi*: so DV; but NFL add *et* after *fugienda*, a further corruption. At 2.27.14 *soluat* (Broukhusius), the only word which makes sense (cf. Housman [21.173f]), appears in NFL as *cernat*, a ridiculous reading: DV's *seruat*, ungrammatical and senseless, is two letters nearer to the truth. Neither of these cases permits an easy explanation. Although a vastly preponderant weight of evidence supports the view that NFL in agreement attest the reading of the archetype, the procedure of a scientist must be to record the facts, even when it is not possible to explain them. Sometimes an original reading has been identically corrupted in N and the older manuscripts of the O group, but is present in DV. *Plaustra Bootes* DV (and PVo) at 3.5.35 may be, as Shackleton Bailey acutely observes (*Prop.* 146), a conjecture inspired by either of two Senecan passages; but from the readings of N, *flamma boon*, and FL, *flamma palustra*, it is a certain inference that the archetype exhibited both *palustra* (or even *plaustra*) and *boon* (or something like it): that is to say, nothing obstructs the hypothesis that DV inherited from O as part of their tradition something very much like *plaustra bootes*. On this view what needs explaining is how N's *flamma*, a corruption of *plaustra*, found its way into FL, manuscripts which inherited that word in a form only slightly removed from the truth.

Matters become curiouser and curiouser when the second hand of V (=v) is found to proffer several sensationally good readings. According to contemporary opinion, where these readings cannot be explained away as interpolation from N, they are emendations devoid of authority. But that will not hold at 1.20.52: there v gives *rursus*, whence Palmer's dazzling conjecture *ni uis perdere rursus*, strongly supported by Housman (22.105f). The origin of v's *rursus* "which, mark, being meaningless is therefore no conjecture" is passing strange. And what are we to say of the following?

2.12.17      quid tibi iucundum est siccis habitare medullis?  
                  si puer est, alio traice puella tuo.

So NFPDV; and so, surely, the archetype. When, therefore, v comes up with *si pudor est, alio traice* tela, puer, it is hard not to accept its whole story as truth, and indeed as truth honestly acquired.

Shackleton Bailey's preference (*Prop.* 88) for the humanists' *traice bella tua* is open to the objection that *traicere* must carry the notion

either of "crossing" or of "throwing": except in the sense of "shifting wars *across something*" *traicere bella* is not Latin. One throws "weapons" not "wars," cf. Caes. *Bell. Civ.* 3.19.1 *telum traiciebatur*. Ovid uses the much commoner construction, *aliquem telis traicere* "to transfix someone with weapons," e.g., *Met.* 2.606 *traiecit pectora telo*, etc. But that *tela* is the correct word emerges from Ovid's own imitation of the Propertian couplet, *Am.* 2.9.13f *quid iuuat in nudis hamata retundere tela / ossibus?*

For the last word of the pentameter I do not see how an impartial critic can reject *puer* (the vocative seems indispensable, and must account for the corruption of *pudor*) in favour of *tua* (which, protected by the preceding *-la*, would never have been corrupted to *tuo*).

If the reader will pardon a little sorcery, let me conjure up the archetype's exemplar: in it someone has jotted down a similarly ex-postulatory couplet of Ovid's, namely *Ars* 3.735f, verses which end . . . *supprime tela / . . . puella tuo*. The scribe of the archetype interpreted this as "delete *tela* and replace it with *puella tuo*"; this he did, and transferred *puer*, which was left without a home, to the beginning of the verse. Barber (now with God) pulled off a like feat of demonology in his apparatus at 4.2.2.

Somehow *v* has secured the pre-archetypal reading.



§6. Such passages, however, are rare. To solve the great difficulties of the Propertian text we have only the reading of the archetype, as established by the unanimous testimony of our manuscripts, to help us.

1.4.11      haec sed forma mei pars est extrema furoris;  
                 sunt maiora, quibus, Basse, perire iuuat:  
                 ingenuus color et multis decus artibus et quae  
                 gaudia sub tacita dicere ueste libet.

To a friend, who, by praising other beautiful women, has tried to make light of Cynthia's attractions, Propertius says: "In point of beauty no woman can hold a candle to Cynthia. And anyway her beauty is the least part of what moves me: she has greater charms to arouse my passion." The greater charms he enumerates in verses 13 and 14, and in this part of my paper I hope to establish what they were.

Interpreters have dug a pit of error for themselves by assuming, as Shackleton Bailey assumes (*Prop.* 15), that "physical beauty has already been dealt with and dismissed." Rather, Propertius is drawing a

distinction between the static beauty of the figure (or *forma*) and the dynamic beauty of sex appeal (or *uenustas*). Catullus 86 provides a perfect illustration: Quintia is *candida, longa, recta*; but, says he, *totum illud 'formosa' nego: nam nulla uenustas, / nulla in tam magno est corpore micis salis*. These qualities, which Quintia so painfully lacks, are exactly what Propertius is praising in Cynthia.

The first is *ingenuus color* "a natural complexion," that is, a fair skin and roses in the cheeks — health and vitality which require no artificial aids. The third is "those delights which I rejoice to experience beneath the secrecy of the coverlet": Cynthia is evidently an adept at making love.

The manuscripts offer *dicere* "delights I rejoice to utter beneath the secrecy of the coverlet"; and editors print *ducere* "delights I rejoice to prolong beneath the secrecy of the coverlet" — both infinitives irrelevant with the adjective *tacita* and tasteless into the bargain. As Heinsius conjectured, Propertius wrote *discere*: he cannot convey to Bassus Cynthia's virtuosity in lovemaking; for this to be appreciated, it has to be, not "uttered," nor yet "prolonged," but "experienced." And since that experience is only vouchsafed to someone beneath the coverlet, the coverlet itself is described as *tacita* "silent," "keeping the secret." *Discere* frequently undergoes alteration to *dicere*: Sandbach (CQ 56 [1962] 269) has convincingly argued for *discere* in 4.1.71 (where I see in *fuge discere fata* a reminiscence of Hor. *Carm.* 1.9.13).

The phrase *multis decus artibus* "adornment with many arts" presents a puzzle. In his second poem Propertius had declared that beauty is better unadorned; as for *many arts*, Cynthia's lyre-playing and verse-composition and water-colours and petit-point were not the most likely things *quibus*, *Basse, perire iuuat*. Now *decus* and *artibus* are often confused with two other words so similar in appearance that even the Romans had difficulty in distinguishing between them. For *decus*, read (with a Renaissance manuscript and Bentley on Hor. *Carm.* 4.13.17) *decor*, which means "physical grace"; the Roman grammarians (e.g., GL 7.270, etc.) explain that *decus honoris, decor formae est*. For *artibus*, read (with Marcilius and others) *artubus* "limbs." The two words were always getting mixed up in antiquity: the Roman grammarians (e.g., GL 1.308, etc.) recommend — *euitandae ambiguitatis gratia* — the spelling *artubus*, and I am sure that Propertius would have us avoid ambiguity here.

What was the original word of which *multis* is the corruption? Certainly Propertius did not mean "the grace of her *many* limbs"; nor was he so graceless himself as to write *multus decor artubus* (Sterke)

"much grace of her limbs." We are implicitly given the solution by Alton when, in splendidly correcting 2.28.11 (*planta*), he writes (*Hermathena* 49 [1935] 46): "Of all Cynthia's charms, it was her feet and the way she *moved* that appealed most to the poet." Accordingly I suggest that the poet wrote *ingenuus color et motis decor artubus* . . . "and her grace when she moves her limbs." Compare: [Tib.] 4.2.7f *illam . . . quoquo uestigia mouit, / componit . . . decor*; Hor. *Carm.* 4.13.17f *decens / quo motus*; Liv. 7.2.4 *haud indecoros motus*; Ovid, *Ars* 3.299 *est et in incessu pars non contempta decoris*; Quint. 1.10.26 *corporis quoque decens et aptus motus*; 11.3.67 *decor a gestu atque a motu uenit*.

There is another splendid correction of Alton's, which he never lived to publish:

- 4.2.23       indue me Cois, fiam non dura puella;  
                   meque uirum sumpta quis neget esse toga?  
 25       da falcem et torto frontem mihi comprime faeno:  
                   iurabis nostra gramina secta manu.  
                   arma tuli quondam et, memini, laudabar in illis;  
                   corbis in imposito pondere messor eram.  
                   sobrius ad lites; at cum est imposta corona,  
 30       clamabis capiti uina subisse meo. . . . etc.  
 35       est etiam aurigae species *Vertumnus* et eius,  
                   traicit alterno qui leue *pondus* equo.  
                   *suppetat hoc* pisces calamo praedabor, et ibo  
                   mundus demissis institor in tunicis.

The poem numbered as the second in the fourth book is a dramatic soliloquy, not spoken by the poet himself, but, like several of his most successful pieces, purporting to be another's utterance. The speaker is the god *Vertumnus*, who tells us of his power to change his personality according to the way his statue is dressed up. And in lines 23 and the following he mentions a list of tokens, mostly held in the hand or worn on the head, which declare his various aspects. The pattern of what he says is this: when I am given token A, I represent aspect A; when I am given token B, I represent aspect B; and so on. Thus: "When I am clad in silks, I represent a playgirl: but when I wear a toga, I represent a man: with scythe in hand and twisted straw on head, I represent a reaper: when I carried arms, I was a soldier: with a basket on my head, I was a harvester: when soberly attired, I am a lawyer: wearing a garland on my head, I am a toper."

The passage runs smoothly until lines 35 and the following. Omitting *Vertumnus* (which, as will be seen, is corrupt) and understanding *mihi*



with *est*, I should translate "I also have the appearance of a charioteer, and of him who hurls light *weight* from one horse to another."

Obviously the weight is his own body: he is a *desultor*, a switchback rider. But the Latin does not make this clear. Schrader (*Lib. Emend.* 166f), comparing [Tib.] 4.1.115f *ipse . . . uelox celerem super edere corpus / audet equum*; Ovid, *Fast.* 4.782 (per . . .) *traicias . . . membra*; and Propertius himself 4.4.78 (super . . .) *traicit . . . pedes*, argues that a word referring to the body must be mentioned and proposes *corpus* "hurls nimble body" (i.e., "*his* nimble body," for *corpus* can only refer to the subject). This I accept: the words are confused elsewhere; and after the word *leue* and the earlier mention of *pondere* (28) a basis for error existed.

But that is a bagatelle: where are the tokens which identify Vertumnus the charioteer and Vertumnus the switchback rider? Without these tokens the sense is incomplete. The word *Vertumnus* is suspect because Vertumnus himself is speaking: we therefore look for an emendation of it to complete the sense, and will find it in Postgate's *cum uerbere* "I represent a charioteer when I have a whip in my hand" (*CR* 15 [1901] 413, where he explains the error).

What of the missing token for the switchback rider? Postgate thought that the words *suppetat hoc* were sound, and with a full-stop placed after them could be referred back to the previous line "and I represent a switchback rider, granted this object." He says (*ibid.* 412): "The object referred to must I think be the *pilleus* or felt-cap which Hyginus *Fabulae* 80 assigns to the *desultor* and with which he is invariably represented in works of art." This was a fantastically long shot: if the real meaning of *suppetat hoc* is "wearing a felt cap," Propertius certainly merits his reputation of being an obscure poet. Even so, Postgate's aim was accurate, and his idea has since received thrilling confirmation.

Nearly fifty years later, whilst perusing the marginalia in the late E. H. Alton's books, Mr W. R. Smyth came across a conjecture made on this passage, which he forthwith published in *CR* 62 (1948) 14. It is *sub petaso*, only a few letters removed from *suppetat hoc*, and of course it actually means "wearing a felt cap," — or, perhaps a little better, "wearing a felt hat." Unfortunately Smyth misunderstood the conjecture: on consulting the Daremberg-Saglio encyclopaedia he learnt that the *petasus*, which is properly a sun hat, was worn by fishermen among others, and jumped to the conclusion that the words were to be taken with the rest of the hexameter. Herein he is followed by Luck and Camps in their recent editions. But the *petasus* was worn by all sorts of people; and from Athenaeus (5.200f) we learn that charioteers wore the



*petasus*, too: παιδάρια χιτῶνας ἔχοντα ἡνιοχικοὺς καὶ πετάσους, "boys wearing the tunics and felt hats of charioteers." The aforementioned scholars were probably misled by the daring enjambement, though Postgate had already pointed out two identical parallels in Book 4:

4.8.67        atque ubi iam nostris lassauit bracchia plagis,  
                  Lygdamus ad plutei fulcra sinistra latens  
                  eruitur . . .

4.10.39      Claudius at Rheno traiectos arcuit hostes,  
                  Belgica cum uasti parma relata ducis  
                  Virdomari . . .

The rest of the hexameter, together with the pentameter, forms a complete unit, with two more examples of token and aspect: "With a fishing-rod in my hand, I shall be an angler; wearing an ungirt tunic, I shall be a spruce salesman." Read therefore:

est etiam aurigae species *cum uerbere*, et eius  
                  traicit alterno qui leue *corpus* equo  
                  *sub petaso*. pisces calamo praedabor, *etc.*

"I represent a charioteer when I have a whip in my hand, and a switchback rider when I have a felt hat on my head."

Our manuscripts also conspire in false testimony at:

3.5.13        haud ullas portabis opes Acherontis ad undas:  
                  nudus *ad infernas*, stulte, uehere *rates*.  
                  uictor cum *uictis* pariter *miscebitur* umbris:  
                  consule cum Mario, capte Iugurtha, sedes.  
                  Lydus Dulichio non distat Croesus ab Iro:  
                  optima mors, *parca* quae uenit *acta* die.

Verse 14 needs only the briefest word: <IN> *INferna*, *stulte*, . . . *rate* (Palmer, and independently Barber) led by the easily discernible stages of *inferna* . . . *rate* and *infernas* . . . *rate* and *infernas* . . . *rates* to a point which clamoured for the insertion of the preposition *ad*. For the elegiac Muse there exists only *one* infernal boat, and the dead are *uecti*, "given passage," not *to* it, nor *from* it, but *in* it.

The first couplet addresses an imaginary reader "You will not take your wealth with you to the underworld"; the second contains the platitude "Victor and vanquished sit side by side in the underworld." More precisely the Latin of the third verse says, according to the manuscripts, "Victor will be equally mingled with the vanquished shades," with three flaws. (1) The future tense destroys the logic of the couplet. The theme is "Victor and vanquished *are* as one in death," not *will be*: the futures of 13f are apt and prophetic, since the poet apostrophizes

someone alive; but in 15f the statement is universal and, as the pentameter shows, requires the timeless aspect of the present. (2) "Vanquished shades" is a gross inelegancy for "the shades of the vanquished"; and after his *uictrix cum uictis*, a *reductio ad absurdum* if ever there was one, Postgate must be summarily divested of the laurels with which we have just crowned him. The first verse shows how unlikely the poet was to speak of *opulentae umbrae*: his very theme is that there exists no discrimination between *umbrae*. (3) "The victor will be equally mingled . . ." is nonsense: equally with what? On the construction of *pariter* in Propertius' sentence, Ovid, *Her.* 8.57 will throw valuable light: *ora mihi pariter cum mente tumescunt* "My face and mind are equally swollen with anger": *pariter cum* serves as an alternative to *et . . . pariter* (cf. Ovid, *Ars* 2.728 *pariter femina uirque* "woman and man alike"). Thus we must interpret "Victor and vanquished shades alike will be mingled": but mingled how or where or when or why? The sentence now lacks a formal predicate.

Housman (*JP* 16 [1888] 9) removed these three distinct flaws by the neat conjecture *miscetur in* "Victor and vanquished alike are mingled among the dead" (i.e., are numbered among the dead). Clearly, *in* was swallowed up by *umbris*, and, under the influence of the futures in the preceding lines, some scribe replaced *miscetur* with *miscebitur* to fill up the verse.

Now it happened not long ago that I challenged my classmate James Willis, *quo non praestantior alter*, to emend this crux, and without remembrance of Housman's conjecture or the slightest hint from me he duly came up with *miscetur in*. But to my consternation he came up with more: he pointed out that the inconcinnity of number in *uictor cum uictis*, harsh in itself, cannot be imputed to Propertius when augmented by the homoeoptoton . . . -is . . . -is in unrelated words at caesura and verse-end. Willis' emendation is:

*uictor cum uicto pariter miscetur in umbris.*

Someone has altered *cum uicto . . . miscebitur umbris* to *cum uictis . . . miscebitur umbris*.

Verse 18, "that death is best which comes driven by thrifty day," has by virtue of its manifest unintelligibility impelled most critics to pronounce it corrupt. Though common sense will not itself restore the original words for us, it will nevertheless permit us to reject out of hand with the utmost assurance Lachmann's *Parcae*: "that death is the best which comes driven by the day of the Fate." Pass over the conundrums of death being driven, of death's being driven by a day, of a day of the

Fate, of the Fates being reduced from three to one: what would this conjecture mean? It would mean that, if one is fated to be cut off in childhood, to be butchered in war, to be stricken down by disease, or to perish in some horrible tragedy, then that death is best. There lurks, alas, a Beckmesser in even the greatest of Meistersinger, and it chose this moment to appear in Lachmann.

Let us turn quickly to Baehrens' felicitous and, of course, certain restoration *carpta quae uenit . . . die* "which does not come until life has been enjoyed" (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.11.8): the route from *carp(t)a* to *parca* is a short one, and retracing it brings us back to sanity. We are, however, not yet through. With *carpta*, *acta* cannot stand: senseless before, it is impossible now. Baehrens himself discarded it in favour of *apta* (DV), a feeble attempt to improve on *acta*, as Luck's contrived translation betrays: "*Der Tod ist der beste, der im rechten Augenblick, wenn man das Leben genossen hat, kommt,*" i.e., *optima mors est, quae optima . . . uenit*. What Propertius wrote was *carpta quae uenit ante die* (Helm, *BPW* 54 [1934] 170) "which does not come until life has *first* been enjoyed." Compare 1.1.2 contactum *nullis ante cupidinibus*; Ovid, *Fast.* 1.234, *Her.* 3.87. After the corruption of *carpta*, *ante* lacked a connection with the grammar of the sentence, and was doomed.

Even when a vast crowd of conjectures assembles in the apparatus at the scene of some particularly gruesome accident, it is remarkable how often our witnesses tell the same story. The case of 4.5.19f will powerfully uphold our thesis that very great damage had already been inflicted on the text by the time of the archetype, and, to echo the words of Housman (22.103), "I gladly seize the opportunity of discussing it by reason of its great interest and difficulty."

But let us first glance at the composition in which it occurs. The poem, which, besides its distinction as the locus classicus of bawds' gospel, merits notice as possibly the inspiration for the *Ars Amatoria*, expresses Propertius' feelings about Acanthis, the evil duenna of his mistress. With the same felicitous art he had displayed in commemorating Tarpeia, the poet dramatizes the situation: Acanthis speaks in her own person in a soliloquy flanked by introductory and concluding maledictions by the author.

The modern vulgate follows Shackleton Bailey's note (*Prop.* 244) on verse 71 in declaring Acanthis to be still alive. But the poem opens with the words *Terra tuum spinis obducit, lena, sepulcrum*, closes with an injunction to lovers to hurl stones and abuse at the grave, and in between describes the crone's fatal illness and obsequies. Since, furthermore, with the simple candour of the Fly at the postmortem on Cock Robin,

Propertius says (67f) *uidi (eam) exspirare animam* "I saw her die," the emendation which imputes defective vision to the eyewitness and good health to the old hag invites upon its proposer a charge of tampering with the evidence. I must brazenly own that I alter the word in question, too; but with no such imputation. That *fueraut* in 71 was a metrical alteration of *fuertunt* (Passeratius) rests upon the wide induction specified in my note on 4.8.54.

Naturally, since Acanthis is dead, the words *quod non uis* (*uis* om. N<sup>1</sup>) in 2 will have to undergo emendation; but that necessity exists whether she be dead or not: *sitim* requires an adjective or its equivalent, and *quod non uis* lacks point and elegance. With a recommendation of *quam* (Broukhusius) *non tu* (Havet) "greater than possessed you, whilst alive," I pass on to graver trouble.

Some confusion has invaded the poem. The order of the verses, as exhibited by the manuscripts, cannot reflect the mind of the poet: someone, as I asserted above, has foisted in 55f; 45f, which advocate complaisance, are alien to their present position, which advocates deceit — the couplet must endorse some such train of thought as 49–58 ("give yourself to anyone, soldier, sailor, or slave, provided he brings cash"). The end of the bawd's address was brought about by a dramatic element: *his animos* (v: -us codd.: -um edd.) *nostrae dum uersat Acanthis amicae* "in the midst of her speech" — what happened? Clearly, something which brought it to an abrupt end, just as Dipsas' speech in Ovid was brought to an abrupt end when he betrayed his presence (*Am.* 1.8.109: *uox erat in cursu, cum me mea prodidit umbra*). But the following verse *per tenuem ossa <mihi> sunt numerata cutem*, however interpreted (or otherwise emended), will not serve. Shackleton Bailey's admirable transposition of 65f before 63 solves the difficulty of *sed* in 65, but leaves the nature of the dénouement no less of an enigma. Luetjohann's idea of transposing 70 and 64 (the fire went out, and Acanthis was attacked by a fatal fit of coughing) seems the only solution; and, noticing that line 66 ends in *focos* and 70 in *foco*, I wonder whether the damage repaired by Shackleton Bailey's transposition was caused by a mistaken attempt to get verse 70 back to its rightful place.

After this preamble, let us turn to lines 19f, which, to complicate matters, occur at a juncture of composition, as the following scheme will show:

a)	<i>Invocation:</i>	1–4:	<i>A curse on the grave!</i>
A)	<i>Prologue:</i>	5–18(?):	Acanthis was a witch
B)	<i>Scene:</i>	21(?)–62:	Advice from a bawd
C)	<i>Epilogue:</i>	63–74:	Death and funeral of Acanthis
c)	<i>Envoi:</i>	75–78:	<i>A curse on the grave!</i>



The Oxford text leaves us in no doubt about the dimensions of the corruption:

4.5.19       †*exorabat opus uerbis ceu blanda perure*  
                   *saxosamque ferat sedula culpa uiam*†

Housman (22.103): "This gibberish should describe how an old procuress poisons the mind of the poet's mistress with her insidious counsels." Now, although the word *uerbis* lends colour to this statement, especially as the procuress has already embarked on her counsels by the beginning of line 21, nevertheless there is in the couplet no obvious reference to the poet's mistress; and a suspicion that the verses refer not forward, but backward, may be strengthened by examining Housman's proposal to read:

*exercebat opus, uerbis heu blanda, perinde*  
                   *saxosam atque forat sedula gutta uiam.*

"She plied her trade [This is palmary] only too bland with words [But there is nothing bland about the bawd's speech, a stark exhortation to a mercenary life] just as a sedulous drop (Jacob) tunnels (Rossberg) a path through rock [An inept simile: direct subversion has nothing in common with "the wearing away of a hard substance by gentle and continuous friction," as Housman puts it]." *Atque* is certainly wrong: this word is never used by Propertius save with elision, for at 4.2.54 Morel (*JRS* 55 [1965] 302) has neatly restored *quoque*, i.e., *et quo tempore*: cf. 4.9.5 *qua . . . quaque*. The collapse of *atque* necessarily drags down *perinde* with it, and *heu* as well, because *ceu* must now be reinstated to express the meaning of *perinde atque*. Finally *gutta* displeases, since it is inanimate and *sedula* demands a noun indicating purposeful activity. The suggestions of Richmond and Barber command no acceptance, inasmuch as they retain *blanda* and hence naturally lead to unsatisfactory sense.

Though I shudder to lean heavily on anyone here, there seems nothing for it but to climb on Tränkle's shoulders when he states (*Sprachkunst des Propertius* 47) that *ceu* is assured, for the content of the couplet is transparently a simile. Now, what was the point of the simile? Surely a most disparaging one. Acanthis, who has just been described in fourteen lines as a foul and horrible witch, ought to be compared, not with anything bland and agreeable, nor with anything as pure as water, but with something foul and horrible.

When, therefore, *v* supplies one of its extraordinary readings, *talpa* "mole" for *culpa*, and when Palmer proposes *blatta* "weevil" for *blanda*, one is forced to sit up and take notice: there is only one



characteristic which these loathsome creatures possess in common, and that is, very significantly, not merely a notable but an indispensable characteristic of witches: they love the darkness rather than light. The mole needs no illustration, but for the *blatta* compare Virg. *Georg.* 4.243 *lucifugis . . . blattis* and Mart. 14.37 (where it is a bookworm, the passage which induced Palmer to conjecture *papyrum* [*papyron* Havet] for *perure*).

The chief obstacle to a solution along these lines is the phrase *saxosam . . . uiam*: moles do not burrow through rock. However, we are already committed to large-scale surgery. Let us not faint at the sight of a little blood: *saxosam* calls for the scalpel. Deep-seated disease warrants strong treatment: a paralytic spine cannot be cured by aspirins, and no physician ever stayed galloping consumption with a cough drop.

If, then, the poet wrote *blatta* and *talpa*, it unquestionably follows that he did not also write *uerbis*: for that word *tébris* (i.e., *tenebris*) readily offers itself, and for *saxosam* with less obviousness *suffossam*. The couplet will now read:

exercebat opus tenebris, ceu blatta papyron  
suffossamque forat sedula talpa uiam.

"She went about her business in the dark, just as the bookworm drills paper and the officious mole his subterranean path." Five times elsewhere Propertius scans *tenebris* as a bacchius, but both its anapaestic measure and its meaning "in the dark" are adequately attested in elegiac poetry: Tib. 1.6.59; 2.1.76; Ovid, *Am.* 1.6.20. Another passage in the fourth book invites similar conjecture:

4.11.15      damnae noctes et uos, uada lenta, paludes,  
                 et quaecumque meos implicat unda pedes,  
                 immatura licet, tamen huc non noxia ueni:  
                 det Pater hic umbrae mollia iura meae.  
                 aut si quis posita iudex sedet Aeacus urna,  
20              in mea sortita uindicet ossa pila.

"Cursed . . . both ye, O waters, sluggish streams, and whatever *water* entangles my feet, . . ." To deal with the second corruption first: *paludes* signifies all the waters of the underworld, so that when Cornelia says *paludes et . . .*, she must have addressed something else. When Santenius suggests that by *paludes* she means the Styx and by *quaecumque unda* the other rivers of the underworld, he ignores the force of *huc* in the next verse. Cornelia has arrived *huc*, at some spot in the underworld, and from it addresses her surroundings: she apostrophizes the

water in 15; she can hardly speak of water located elsewhere in the underworld as "entangling my feet." We must therefore accept Schrader's *ulua* "sedge," which seems certified by Virg. *Georg.* 3.175 *uluamque palustrem*, Ovid, *Met.* 6.345 *gratamque paludibus uluam*, and the confusion between the two words remarked upon by Heinsius at *Met.* 14.103.

There is no need for me to show that *damnatae noctes* is impossible, because in an able analysis Sandbach (*CQ* 55 [1962] 274f) has already done so: indeed, he virtually solved the difficulty by discovering that *damnatae* agrees with *paludes* and *ulua*, and that the required sense is "cursed with darkness." But he fails to convince with his *nocti sed* (the pedant in him has written *nocti set*: whether the reverse corruption of *et* to *sed* would justify printing *ed* is a matter of opinion — *quod homines, tod sententiae*, as Garrod, for once scoring a hit on Housman, remarks at *Man.* 2.713). Now *nocti* involves a harsh dative (the ablative being the regular construction, cf. Ovid, *Met.* 3.335 *aeterna damnauit lumina nocte*), and *et* cannot be interfered with. That Propertius wrote *damnatae tenebris* emerges from Luc. 9.986 *tenebris damnabimur* and Claud. *Cons. Prob.* 43 *tenebris damnauit*. How did *tenebris* become *noctes*? In this way: some ignoramus mistook *et* "both" for *et* "and"; appalled at the imagined false concord of *damnatae tenebris et paludes et ulua* (or *unda*), he boldly crossed out *tenebris* and wrote — well, not *tenebrae*, for that would not scan: a moment's thought suggested *noctes*, making nonsense of the meaning, but rather better metre than his bankrupt *erumnas* at 2.34.53.

To turn to the corrupt 18: "*May Father give lenient judgement here to my shade.*" (1) Only a guilty party asks for lenient judgement, and Cornelia was not guilty; (2) though the fact is obfuscated by a good deal of scholarly sidestepping, *dare iura* is not proper Latin for "give judgement"; (3) the basic principles of language will not permit *pater* in this context to signify anything but the absurd "my father." Before Koppier's *deprecor* "I do not ask for," these mysteries vanish like ghosts at cockcrow.

The voice of Cornelia, in the recording of the modern vulgate, says: "Let my father give me an easy judgement or alternatively may I be given a harsh one." When the supposititious father made his appearance, he constituted an alternative to the real judge, who is named in 19: hence the first word of line 20, which can hardly have been anything but *at* (Nestor), was altered to *aut*. With Heinsius' *is* in 21 we breathe once more the air of a sane world: "*I do not ask for lenient judgement, but, if there is some severe judge, let him judge,*" that is, *at si quis iudex sedet*



See further Silius 11.450 *magni pectora Achillis*, and Cat. 64.338f *Achilles / . . . forti pectore notus*. Thus we can again locate the corruption: it was not Perses who spurred on the spirit of Achilles, but the spirit of Achilles which spurred on Perses. The inflection *-antem* must have arisen from another form of the verb in subordination. Read then (slightly adapting Plessis's *stimulat quem*):

et, Persen proauī stimulat dum pectus Achilli,  
qui tumidas proauo fregit Achille domos.

" . . . and I call him to witness, who, when the spirit of his ancestor Achilles spurred on Perses, crushed the house inflated by its ancestor Achilles." Paullus, as any Roman schoolgirl knew, was greater than Achilles. Propertius often postpones conjunctions: cf. 4.5.63 (*dum* in fourth place); 2.6.3 (*nec* in fourth place after its verb); 2.12.15 (*quoniam* in fourth place after its verb). The corruption might have been predicted: *stimulatdum* before a neuter noun was sure to become *stimulandum*, and this in turn — to bring *Persen* into the syntax — was altered to *stimulantem*.



§7. Thus at every turn we find a tradition vitiated with error. Some and, indeed, much of this error is revealed to be, not the slight slips of a sleepy scribe, but the wilful alterations of a pseudo editor whose crazy notions have driven him to ruthless rewording. Warned by this sinister situation, we cannot reasonably hope that close adherence to the manuscripts guarantees, in passages of difficulty, any closeness to Propertius. Still less should we scruple to retain perplexing readings when minute emendation results in a vastly superior text.

4.1.135      at tu finge elegos, *fallax* opus: haec tua castra! —  
scribat ut exemplo cetera turba tuo.

Camps: "It is difficult to find an attested value for *fallax* that fits the context; perhaps it here approximates in meaning to *blandum*." The word which approximates in meaning to *blandum* ("alluring") is not *fallax* ("deceiving") but *pellax* ("alluring"), conjectured by Heinsius: Bentley made the same conjecture at Hor. *Carm.* 3.7.20; and Housman in *JP* 16 (1888) 26f supported both conjectures with logic and learning. I cannot and therefore shall not try to improve upon.

4.4.39      quid mirum in patrios Scyllam saeuisse capillos,  
candidaque in saeuos inguina uersa canes?



Omit *in*, and read *secuisse* with Phillimore, CR 28 (1914) 81. Not merely is the repetition displeasing (repetition in *alternate* lines, noted by Camps, is another matter), but the cutting of Nisus' hair called for stealth and not force. See 3.19.22 (and Housman on Man. 3.9):

tuque, o, Minoa uenumdata, Scylla, figura,  
tondes purpurea regna paterna coma.

If *secuisse* became corrupted to *seuisse*, the insertion of *in* would be suggested by the form of the pentameter. The preposition *in* has also been foisted into the epicedium of Cornelia:

4.11.35 iungor, Paulle, tuo sic discessura cubili,  
in lapide hoc uni nupta fuisse legar.

Read *ut* with Graevius: *sic* (cf. 2.13.4ff) is pointless without some connection with the pentameter, and the pentameter is pointless without some connection with *sic*.

4.4.49 lubrica tota uia est et perfida: quippe *tacentes*  
fallaci celat limite *semper* aquas.

"The whole route is slippery and trustless: for *silent* waters it *always* conceals with insidious track." However, the Latin for "silent" is not *tacens*, but *tacitus* (Propertius 13 times, Ovid over 60); *tacens*, used only with verbal force, is not found elsewhere in Propertius, and only thrice in Ovid (*Ars* 1.574, 3.512 *saepe tacens . . . uultus*; *Trist.* 5.7.6 *me . . . tacente*). When Camps says "perhaps simply 'hidden,'" he hits the nail on the thumb, for with daintier aim Rossberg had hammered out the difficulty with *latentes* (as he had with *tum* in the previous verse).

But precisely what is the deceit which the route practises on its travellers? How does a route conceal lurking waters? And why does Tarpeia add "always," as if Tatius were interested in an all-season description? Palmer thought that the irrelevant *semper* disguised a noun giving greater precision to *fallaci limite*, namely *caespes*: "for *grass* conceals waters *lurking* with insidious track." *Caespes* of a riverbank at Ovid, *Fast.* 6.702. Haplography would account for the error and subsequent correction: *limiTE* <CE>*spes*.

4.4.93 a duce *Tarpeio* mons est cognomen adeptus:  
o uigil, iniustae praemia sortis habes.

For the purposes of this poem Tarpeia has no father: no such person as Spurius Tarpeius exists in the world of Prop. 4.4; and of the three



possible conjectures (-a, -us, -um) I have no doubt that the last, Palmer's, is correct: elegiac poets no more write a *duce Tarpeia* than they write *ab amatore Ioue* or the like, nor at these positions in the verse do they place a subject and a predicate both ending in -us.

Search for the identity of *uigil* has produced an astonishing number of pretenders; and Roget, with his Thesaurus open before him, would have been stumped for a suitable epithet to describe Broukhusius' resuscitation of the dogs slaughtered in verse 84. Only Richmond has discovered the missing person (ed., p. 350 [do not see]). In all the verses of this poem there is one, and only one, mention of vigilance, in 85f: *Iuppiter unus / decreuit . . . inuigilare*. The introductory couplet refers to Tarpeia and Jupiter; and, with natural balance, so does the last: "Vigilant One, an unjust portion is your requital," that is, in having your hill named after a traitress.

4.10.41

genus hic Brenno iactabat ab ipso,  
mobilis e rectis fundere gaesa rotis.  
illi uirgatas maculanti sanguine bracas  
torquis ab incisa decedit unca gula.

Schrader's brilliant correction of 43 has not appeared in a printed text for some time, and deserves more comment than I gave in *HSCP* 69 (1965) 95. The manuscripts give *illi uirgatis iaculantis ab agmine bracas*. Commentators are hard put to it to explain why the participle has no object; why Virdomarus' "throwing" is characterized by "striped trousers"; why the genitive *iaculantis* is placed in apposition to a dative; and why the warrior who fought from a chariot he drove himself makes his final appearance *ab agmine*. Corruption spread from *sāguine* to *maculanti-s agmine*; *iactabat* would suggest *iaculantis*; and thence to the manuscript reading is a short step. Proof of the conjecture is supplied in verses 12 *sed non sanguine sicca suo* (of Acron) and 38 *ceruix Romanos sanguine lauit equos* (of Tolumnius). *Illi* should cause no suspicion, cf. 4.4.15.

Löfstedt's explanation of the passage (*Synt.* 1.235f), swallowed whole by Schuster and Tränkle, merely analyses the words in the sentence according to a grammatical theory, without any regard for the meaning which this analysis implies. According to Löfstedt, a pronominal dative of interest and a participial genitive (of possession?) each referring to the same noun may exist in the same sentence: he accepts as classical *illi iaculantis gula incisa est* "in the act of throwing his throat was severed," where — it seems to me — the jugular vein of Latin syntax rather is severed, unless one writes *iaculanti*. Löfstedt, however, can

point to one example, at 4.7.23, which merits a deeper scrutiny than it has so far received:

4.7.23           at mihi non oculos quisquam inclamavit euntis:  
                                unum impetrassem te reuocante diem.

Cynthia reproaches Propertius for not being at her deathbed to utter the final call; from the pentameter we learn that this cry endeavoured to hold back the departing person, cf. 2.27.15 *si modo clamantis reuocauerit aura puellae, . . . redibit*. Propertius has daringly compressed the thought more fully enunciated by Ovid, *Trist.* 3.3.43f:

nec cum clamore supremo  
labentes oculos condet amica manus.

Ovid's *labentes* suggests that Propertius' *euntis* is accusative plural, with *mihi* being the dative of possession with parts of the body (*Caesari ad pedes*, etc.): "but no one cried out upon my dying eyes." Reason rules out two possible alternatives. (1) Reland's conjecture *mihi . . . eunti*: "as I died, no one cried out upon my eyes." This involves the incongruous notion that voice is addressed to the eyes, *oculos*, which — *tout court* — must signify the organ of vision: *oculos euntes*, like *oculos labentes*, escapes this incongruity by carrying the wider significance of "departing spirit," since the imminence of the spirit's departure is revealed by the eyes. (2) *oculos . . . euntis* (gen. sing.): "for me no one cried out upon 'dying person's' eyes." If correct, this interpretation would imply that *euntis oculi* was a stock expression, "dier's eyes," as we might say "marcher's foot," or "drinker's elbow," and would not of course indicate any logical identity between *mihi* and *euntis*. However, *euntis oculi* is not cited from elsewhere, so that this interpretation, too, is invalidated. Löfstedt appeals to Ovid, *Am.* 3.9.49f *hic certe* (here, in Rome, at any rate) *madidos fugientis pressit ocellos / mater* "mother closed swimming eyes of departing (son)." But here there is no pronominal dative to disturb the possessive genitive, and consequently this passage cannot be allowed as a syntactical parallel to Prop. 4.7.23.

4.11.3           cum semel infernas intrarunt funera leges . . .

"When once the dead have entered infernal laws . . ." Here, similarly, the question is, does logic permit us to believe that *intrare leges* is possible Latin? Defenders of the text cite no other example of the phrase, nor any other example of *infernae leges*. Of course, one can enter *insidias*, an ambush (*Caes. Bell. Ciu.* 3.38); *Cyaneos fragores*, the Clashers' thunders (*Val. Flacc.* 5.483); *mensas minores*, Pygmy hostelry

(Stat. *Theb.* 5.428), for these accusatives denote a place or state entered. If the underworld were a state of law, so that *infernae leges* could mean "the legal underworld," then the phrase would be meaningful. Or if *leges* specified some part of the underworld entered, as opposed to some other part which was not, then too the phrase would meet the requirements of logic. But at the moment it does not. Markland's contention that *intrare infernas leges* means "to enter the sphere of infernal jurisdiction," that is, to come under infernal laws, lacks corroborating evidence: we find other verbs (e.g., Virg. *Aen.* 4.618f *se sub leges . . . / tradiderit*; Stat. *Silv.* 1.1.28 *minor in leges . . . Caesaris iret*) but not *intrare*.

What we do find support for is the conjecture of Heinsius, advocated by Schrader and independently suggested by Paley: *sedes*. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 3.504 *inferna sede receptus*; *Met.* 4.433f *ducit ad infernas per muta silentia sedes, / quo simul intrauit*.

Occasionally *s* and *l* are confused: at verse 93, *discite uenturam iam nunc lenire* (Koppiers) *senectam* "learn even now to comfort the old age that will come upon him," only a suspension of the laws of the physical universe will sanction the received *sentire*: Schrader compares 4.8.33 *noctem lenire* and Ovid, *Met.* 6.500 *lenimen dulce senectae*.

4.11.71      haec est feminei merces extrema triumphi,  
                  laudat ubi emeritum libera fama rogum.

"This is the final reward of female glory, when candid opinion praises the . . . she has served out." That "funeral pyre" makes no sense, I shall not insult the reader by explaining. We require a word denoting the service specially discharged by women; and it is obviously *torum* "marriage" (Koppiers). In my opinion the word was deliberately changed by the Propertias, who changed it also at 1.1.36 (*locum* codd., edd.: *torum* Otto, Housman). At 2.9.16 and 3.6.30 *toro* has been changed to *uiro*.

4.1.71      Quo ruis, imprudens? fuge discere fata, Properti!  
                  non sunt a dextro condita fila colo. . . .  
150      octopedis Cancrī terga sinistra time!

The passage has had a good deal of light thrown on it by Sandbach (*CQ* 56 [1962] 264ff), whose correction of 73 *auersus cantat Apollo*, like his conjecture *pone* at 4.7.79, is palmary. In the first verse I prefer Livineius' *fuge* to Schippers' *caue* for several reasons, the most obvious and most compelling being palaeographical probability (for the reverse error, see 4.6.35 *quali[s]*, Rossberg). Propertius often uses his name in the vocative, never with an adjective.

It is important to settle — for it can be settled — the independence of 71–150 as a separate poem. Common sense (let us dare to invoke it) will recognize in 71–150 such a dramatic monologue as the very next two poems provide: Horos, who speaks throughout, tells Propertius' fortune; he does not refer to 1–70, and those verses do not refer to him. The unity of the poem is also indicated by the formal device of sounding in the last couplet a keynote of the first: hence *sinistra* echoes *non dextro*. Compare 4.2.1 *tot in uno . . .*, 63f. *tot docilem* (a brilliant conjecture, typically rejected by Hertzberg, in this case its author) . . . *unum opus*; 4.4.1 *Tarpeium scelus . . .*, 93 *Tarpeium . . . cognomen*; 4.7.2 . . . *effugit umbra rogos*, 96 . . . *excidit umbra meos*; 4.10.1 . . . *Feretri*, 48 . . . *Feretri*. The device is found elsewhere in Propertius, as well as in the other elegiac poets: Ovid, *Am.* 1.5; 2.7; 2.8; [3.5]; 3.13; Tib. 2.5; [3.2; 3.4; 3.6], see Shackleton Bailey, *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.* 182 (1952) 18, n. 1. And it will guide us to an acceptance of Richmond's transposition in 4.9.

- 4.9.69        haec nullis umquam pateat ueneranda puellis,  
                   Herculea aeternum ne sit inulta sitis."  
       Sance pater, salve, cui iam fauet aspera Iuno:  
               Sance, uelis libro dexter inesse meo.  
       hunc, quoniam manibus purgatum sanxerat orbem,  
               sic Sancum Tatiae composuere Cures.

The conclusion of the aetiological poem about Hercules: "' . . . let women never worship at my altar.' *Hail, Sance, be thou propitious to my page*. Him, since he had hallowed the world, the Sabines honoured with the title of Hallower." The salutation is as untimely as the Christmas card which arrives on Ash Wednesday, and editors transpose it. But not where it belongs, at the very beginning of the poem: they put it at the end.

Their reasoning is painfully clear. Moving a couplet over two verses postulates only a slight error; moving it over seventy postulates a large one. Correspondingly — should we be altogether wrong in postulating a transposition — we risk committing a slight error in the first case, a large one in the second. It is the same reasoning which induces editors to alter the impossible *tuo* at 2.12.18 to *tua* rather than to *puer*. Most men are more concerned to be slightly wrong, if they are to be wrong, than to be audaciously right, if they are to be right: there are perils in being right with a Galileo, whereas one risks nothing by being wrong in a conformist world of Ptolemaic error.

If with Schneidewin and his followers we assume that 71f came from the end of the poem, it is impossible to imagine why Propertius put



them there in the first place, and how they came to be transposed in the second. Richmond's transposition before verse 1 solves both questions. Propertius introduces each of his other aetiological poems by a couplet announcing the subject of the *ἄντιον*, cf. 4.2.2 *Vertumni*; 4.4.1 *Tarpeium*; 4.10.1 *Feretri*: his own practice requires him to begin his poem with mention of Sancus, and the word *salve* makes it clear that he did. The cause of the transposition is no less ready to hand. The verses say "Hail, Sancus, now smiled on by cruel Juno, . . ."; now the reader for whom Propertius wrote knew, before he started the poem, that Juno had persecuted Hercules from the cradle onward but became reconciled with him in heaven. Such a detailed reference in verse 1 astonished our medieval ignoramus: he considered that the couplet would be better placed if Juno's reconciliation were mentioned in proper chronological order, namely after Hercules' last speech (which ends at 70) and before the institution of his cult by the Sabines (dealt with in 73f).

Richmond's edition (1928) is the most important yet to appear in this century, for in the pursuit of the author's ipsissima verba he faced and made some progress with the greatest difficulty, that of dislocation in the text. Subsequent editors have not so much steered clear of this difficulty as backed hard from it, preferring, possibly, to avoid the stigma of contamination with the shipwreck of his text. It was drawn on to the rocks of delusion by Sirens who bewitched him with a vision of the neat pagination of a pre-archetypal manuscript and with the numerical magic of chimerical stanzas. Under their spell Richmond constructed the framework of his edition, and in bridging with conjecture the unbridgeable gap between fact and fancy he piled Ossa on Pelion. *Hinc illae lacrimae*. Still, his work is by no means to be disdained. For one thing, he thought for himself, and he had the wisdom to assume as a matter of course that, when the rest of the world differed from his considered judgement, it was wrong. And, naturally, it often was.

3.13.61      certa loquor, sed nulla fides; neque enim *Ilia* quondam  
uerax Pergameis Maenas habenda malis.

"I speak the truth, but no belief is granted me; nor in fact should the Ilian have once been accounted a veracious prophetess for Trojan disasters." This verbiage refers to the disbelief which Cassandra encountered when she foretold the fall of Troy. But *non uerax habenda erat* means "she should not have been believed," implying that she was. Schrader proposed *nec credita quondam*, which, though failing to explain the corruption, certainly gives the right sense: "nor was the Maenad



believed of old, she who ought to have been accounted a true predictor of Trojan disasters." Richmond, who later found his conjecture in a Cambridge manuscript, gives us the hand of Propertius with *neque uilia quondam* (sc. *locuta est*): *u(V)* and *n(N)* are perpetually confused in Latin manuscripts, and  $\cdot n \cdot (\bar{N})$  is *enim*: "Nor on a time did the Maenad speak false, she who should have . . ." The Romans occasionally omit the main verb, where it can be easily supplied (English achieves a like effect with the verb "do"), cf. 4.11.79 *et si quid doliturus eris, sine testibus illis* "and if you are going to grieve over anything, do it out of their sight." Similarly 4.4.13 *muris erant montes; ubi nunc est Curia, saepta*: that is, *saepta erant* (a passage which supports Heinsius' interpretation of *saepe* in 4.1.14 as abl. sing., Lactantius' testimony notwithstanding).

We must not forget to acknowledge Luck's necessary correction *Pergamei . . . mali*, an objective genitive after *uerax* (by analogy with *fallax*); the dative-ablative has no legitimate construction here; and Propertius prefers *malum* in the singular of a specific evil (cf. 1.5.28 *mei mali*, 1.9.18 *uenturi mali*), using *mala* in the plural of vaguely conceived ills (cf. 2.18.27 *multa mala*, 3.7.54 *tot mala*).

4.1.93        quippe Lupercus, equi dum saucia protegit ora,  
                   heu sibi prolapso non bene cauit equo;  
          Gallus at, in castris dum credita signa tuetur,  
                   concidit ante aquilae rostra cruenta suae.

When, on the eve of sending her two sons off to war, Arria consulted the astrologer Horos, he told her that she must not give them military equipment. The foolish woman took no notice, and — guess what! — *nempe meam firmant nunc duo busta fidem*. In the above verses Horos relates how malign astral forces killed the boys whilst they were in the very act of safeguarding their equipment: in fact, they were killed by it. "Whilst Lupercus was protecting the wounded face of his horse [Heinsius' *eques* and Postgate's *auis*, quaintly extolled by Housman, may be removed from the apparatus], he unfortunately fell off and failed to mind the horse [*equum* Richmond: the *caue canem* construction]." Similarly, in a rally round the Roman standards [read *rostris*], Gallus was defending the one he carried when, falling with it, he was mortally stabbed by the eagle's beak.

As has frequently happened in our text, a spurious noun-adjective agreement (here *prolapso . . . equo*) was imposed upon a sound text (*prolapso . . . equum*); compare also 4.3.34 *et Tyria in gladios* (read *chlamydas*, Barber) *uelleri secta suos* (read *suo* "I sew," Rossberg).

Actually, Richmond wrote *equom*. Possibly the poet gave it so, but this does not follow from the corruption, which is most naturally explained as a deliberate alteration. At 4.11.8, where for the impossible *herbosos* Richmond has felicitously restored *euersos* (cf. 4.3.14), he spells the word *euorsos*. Unnecessarily: the tradition is always confusing *o* and *e*. The reasoning for the orthography *ecfingere* at 3.9.9 is stronger, and was fully given (though I do not wish to slight D. M. Jones, *CR* 75 [1961] 199) by Housman in his *Adversaria Orthographica* (*CR* 5 [1891] 295) and in *JP* 21 (1893) 147. In general I advocate the principle of adopting a consistent spelling, recommending that the cognoscenti relegate to the apparatus possibly authentic deviations from the norm. The manuscripts of Propertius usually give *i*-stem accusative plurals in *-es*, and the claims to legitimacy of such *-is* forms as occur receive a damaging blow from 4.2.63 *docilis*, an interpolated spelling, since the poet wrote *docilem*. Greek names, however, mostly enjoy Greek terminations, and I second Havet's proposal (*Not. Crit.* 120f) that we should read at 4.5.34 not *Isidis* (Beroaldus, edd.: *sideris* codd.), but *Isidos*: the manuscripts do not attest a single example of a genitive *-is* in this particular paradigm, whilst furnishing *Athamantidos*, *Boebeidos*, *Briseidos*, *Chloridos*, *Craugidos*, *Iasidos*, *Inachidos*, *Laidos*, *Nycteidos*, *Phasidos*, *Phyllidos*, and *Tantalidos*. Because it seems integral to the context, I should adopt fancy spellings in the following verses:

4.2.9           at postquam ille suis tantum concessit alumnis,  
                   *Vertumnus* uerso dicor ab amne deus.  
           seu, quia uertentis fructum praecerpimus anni,  
                   *Vertumni* rursus creditur esse sacrum.

In the body of his aetiological poems the poet rarely mentions the principal name. In doing so twice here, he must have meant to emphasize the etymology. As Richmond points out, *seu . . . rursus* implies a different spelling in line 12. I therefore accept as true Paley's *Vertamnus* and *Vertanni*. From verse 47 we learn that the god preferred the etymology *Vert(or)u(nus in o)mn(es)*. Postgate's *credis id* (*credidit* codd.) has met with a quite undeserved credulity. The second person would expose Vertumnus, who is the very soul of courtesy to his listener, to the charge of slander: he pointedly avoids imputing the false etymologies to anyone, hence *dicor* in verse 10: clearly *credit'* (ς) lost its compendious termination, and was expanded to fill out the metre.



§8. "With regard to the drastic remedy of wholesale transposition, such as has been employed or suggested by Scaliger, Carutti, Housman, Postgate, Richmond, it cannot be justified until some reasoned explanation is forthcoming." Butler and Barber, ed., p. lxix. In declaring my allegiance to the school of Scaliger (let me not leave the reader in suspense), it is necessary to reformulate the three separate questions which Butler and Barber have misrepresented as a single issue: (1) Does the manuscript text of Propertius differ drastically from the poet's autograph text? (2) Is wholesale transposition involved as a necessary means of restoring that text? (3) Does the validity of a remedy depend upon a reasoned explanation of the cause of the ailment?

The answer to the first two questions may not be reached without a wide and deep scrutiny of the text. But the third, which involves a major principle of textual criticism, is a simple question, and it has a simple answer: NO. A surgeon may mend a broken leg in ignorance of the cause of the fracture. Whether the patient slipped on a banana skin, or was pushed out of a window, or was the victim of some other of an infinitude of possible experiences, a surgeon does not require to know: he is confronted with two ends of broken bone, and his task is to bring them together. So with dislocations in Propertius. If we can be sure that in the manuscript text a verse (or verses) disturbs the poet's design here and completes the poet's design there, we shall transpose that verse (or those verses) with the fullest assurance that we are restoring that design. It does not matter if we cannot account for the mishap or error which damaged the design. It is instructive to know all about a falsehood, but enough to have annihilated it. No leaf on any tree, says Cervantes, can be moved without the permission of Heaven. As we replace disturbed leaves in the little garden of Propertius, we shall sometimes, as often when walking in the forest, fail to comprehend the malignities of chance and the depravities of man which Heaven has sanctioned. Never mind — whilst they can be redressed.

A few external traces remain of what has been done. As I mentioned earlier, the couplet 1.2.1f has been interpolated after 4.5.54. And the couplet 4.9.65f, which Jacob replaced in its rightful position before 43, left its pentameter behind when it went into exile (so that 4.9.42 = 4.9.66): even those editors who cannot follow Jacob's reasoning are forced to concede some dislocation by deleting verse 42 as an erroneous trajectory of verse 66.

Before proceeding to the transpositions in Book 4, let us reflect that the establishment of every transposition is a laborious business. Unlike a verbal conjecture (*sancimus* for *sanamus*, say), which one may scruti-

nize without removing the eyes from a single focus, the transposition of a couplet (B after Y, say) requires one to consider four different visual situations (ABC; AC; XYZ; XYBZ). Moreover, this is the ideal case. Often we may be able to detect with certainty that a couplet is out of place, though unsure whence it came; or, assured that dislocation has brought into proximity two couplets that are strangers to each other, we may be at a loss to identify their intervening neighbour or neighbours. Think of the problems involved in presenting an account of 4.1.31-56, which Housman thought were written by the poet in the order 37-38; 55-56; 31-32; 45-46; 39-40; 47-52; 41-44; 53-54 (with 33-36 transposed after 4.10.26). Perhaps we had better start somewhere else.

- 4.4.15      hinc Tarpeia deae laticem libauit: at illi  
                  urgebat medium fictilis urna caput.  
 17      et satis una malae potuit mors esse puellae,  
 18      quae uoluit flammās fallere, Vesta, tuas?  
                  uidit harenosis Tatium proludere campis  
 20      pictaque per flauas frena leuare iubas:  
                  obstipuit regis facie et regalibus armis,  
                  interque oblitās excidit urna manus.

The opening verses of this poem fix the time (when Sabine Tatius laid siege to Rome) and set the scene (a spring on the Capitoline hill). With verse 15 Tarpeia makes her first appearance: "From this spring Tarpeia drew water for the goddess [No goddess has so far been mentioned], an earthenware pot balanced on her head. *And could a single death have been punishment enough for the wicked girl, who desired to betray Vesta's fires?* She saw Tatius practising for battle on the sandy plain and . . ." all thought of the earthenware pot vanished. Zing, in fact, had gone the strings of her heart.

The apostrophe is absurd: Tarpeia had conceived no desire to betray Vesta's fires; at the end of verse 16 she is an innocent virgin, her honour and her character unblemished by the faintest shadow. The dramatic moment — not that this at once brings disgrace upon Tarpeia — arrives with the word *uidit* (*ut uidi, ut perii*, etc.), which follows naturally upon verse 16. The absurdity will become a little plainer if we express the rhetorical question (expecting, of course, the answer no) in a positive way: "So she perished by a multiple death, and serve her right, seeing that she desired . . ." The tense of *potuit* proves that the girl is dead — but, then, the substance of the couplet proves that. Thus the couplet must have come immediately after the mention of her death



(we find, not to our surprise, that her death was a multiple one), and there Broukhusius replaced it:

- 4.4.91        dixit, et ingestis comitum super obruit armis.  
                  haec, uirgo, officiis dos erat apta tuis.  
       17        nec satis una malae potuit mors esse puellae,  
       18        quae uoluit flammās fallere, Vesta, tuas.

“With these words he had her smothered to death under the shields of his followers. So she perished, etc.” I have adopted Postgate’s *nec* (on the grounds that *nec satis* statements occur scores of times in Latin, *et satis* rhetorical questions rarely, if ever).

Much now becomes plain. The smothering by many shields is an allusion to immurement alive (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.27.37), and the aptitude mentioned in verse 92 now receives an explanation. Finally, the cause of the transposition: it was deliberate. Someone was puzzled by the word *deae* (frankly, I am a bit puzzled myself: the next word *fontem* is corrupt, and I have adopted Barber’s *laticem* — *latices* perhaps better — as a stopgap); he desired some reasoned explanation of the word and resorted to the drastic remedy of moving next door to it a couplet containing the name Vesta.

The poem on Cynthia’s death has received much attention, some from a rearranger of verses. Of the transpositions which seem called for (one proposal is 1-4; 81-82; 5-34; 39-40; 47-48; 41-46; 49-54; 71-76; 35-38; 77-92; 55-70; 93-96), the first merits a glance. The fourth verse describes Cynthia as *murmur ad extremae nuper humata uiae* “lately buried beside the noise at the end of the road.” What disappointing vagueness in referring to the burial of his sweetheart! *Tantamne rem tam neglegenter*? But what surprising particularity at 79ff:

- 4.4.79        pone hederam tumulo, mihi quae praegnante corymbo  
                  mollia contortis alliget ossa comis,  
       81        pomosis Anio qua spumifer incubat aruis,  
       82        et numquam Herculeo numine pallet ebur:  
                  hic carmen media dignum me scribe columna,  
                  sed breue, quod currens uector ab urbe legat.

“Place ivy on my tomb . . ., where foaming Anio spills over fruitful fields and by favour of Hercules ivory never yellows; here write in the middle of . . .” We may grant Cynthia a little ornament, but she hardly resorted to such high-flown description to tell Propertius, who knew the way, where Tibur was. Pretty obviously 81-82 go after verse 4 (Postgate), and we must undo the transposer’s putty in 83 by replacing his *hic* with *et*. Why was the transposition made? To bring together, I think,



the verses containing a geographical reference to Cynthia's resting-place. A Baedeker's diligence has also been at work in 4.8, where Luetjohann's restoration of 19-20 to their proper place after 2 has secured a wide adoption: the words *sine me* puzzled some reader who failed to understand that Propertius was not actually present at the brawl between the women in the Esquiline tavern, and could only assume that the couplet related to Cynthia's visit to Lanuvium.

Thus the transpositions in Propertius do not principally involve the accidental shift of verses, such as we encounter from time to time in other texts. Here and there in Propertius' I detect a feature which may prove a helpful clue when restoration becomes really difficult. In 3.7 major dislocation is incontrovertibly revealed by verses 17 and 59: in the first Propertius rebukes Paetus by saying "Why do you speak of your youth?" though it is not till the second that Paetus does so. No satisfactory arrangement seems possible without considerable re-shuffling, but all the verses to be transposed occur in the manuscripts *in consecutive sequence*. This feature is most simply shown at 4.1.83ff:

- 4.1.83     [felicesque Iouis stellas Martisque rapaces  
           84         et graue Saturni sidus in omne caput]  
           85     [quid moueant Pisces animosaque signa Leonis  
           86         lotus et Hesperia quid Capricornus aqua]  
           87     [dicam: 'Troia cades, et Troica Roma resurges';  
           88         et maris et terrae longa pericla canam]

No two opinions are possible here: the accusatives of the first couplet have no construction or meaning with the couplet preceding; nor the indirect question of the second; and, as for the third, it patently belongs somewhere among the disordered verses of 4.1A, perhaps after 68. Richmond transposed 83f after 76, and 85f after 102, where both make perfect sense.

The same situation, but on a larger scale, confronts us in the homily of Vertumnus, 4.2. Here, again, verses which must necessarily be transposed form a continuous block: 41-46, what rumour says about the god, must be placed before 18, where Vertumnus bids rumour be silent (Schrader); 47-48, the second half of the true etymology of his name, needs to follow the first half, i.e., to follow 22 (Richmond); 49-56, detail of the god's migration to Rome, must fill the gap in our text between 4 and 5, where after the briefest mention of his origin Vertumnus says *haec me turba iuuat*: these words only acquire meaning when 56 precedes (the transposition was detected by Housman, who introduced, however, complications of his own rightly ignored by Richmond).

In Book 4 the unnamed editor I postulate seems to have played havoc with the introductory poem; the book can hardly have opened with the first line we read. That verse introduces a dramatic soliloquy, which cannot have included or even preceded the garbled programmatic statement of 57ff. I have referred to signs of disorder in the poems on Horos, Vertumnus, Acanthis, and Cynthia's ghost; and that Arethusa's letter does not survive in quite its original sequence may seem indicated by Housman's desire to arrange 29-62 as follows: 43-50; 29-32; 55-56; 33-34; 51-52; 35-42; 53-54; 59-62; 57-58 (*JP* 16 [1888] 13). I should not regard the other pieces as more than trifled with by *l'innominato*, who, however, like the poet himself, has made no halfhearted effort in the last poem.

Propertius' last poem is incomparably his best. By virtue of its sustained power and elevation it has long since won the world's endorsement of Valckenaer's happy title, *Regina Elegiarum*. Avant-garde criticism may style it, with a frown, as an impersonal essay in forensic necrology; and an exquisite ear may miss in the majesty of the poet's complete orchestra his flute, violin, bassoon. But here, to enshrine a noble and uplifting conception, the indispensable impulse of the highest art, he has exerted his full genius. The language of the poem is impervious to analysis, as is all utterance from the summit of Helicon. We shall not confuse the woman who speaks with the historical Cornelia, wife of Paullus. She possesses that woman's name and life-story; but our Cornelia never lived save in the poet's words: she is an ideal creation and draws her existence from the yearnings of the poet's soul. She is everything that Cynthia was not. And without a doubt she is Cynthia as the poet would prefer her to have been: a worthy daughter of Roman tradition; inflexibly constant and honourable without flaw; solicitous as wife; and a mother. Only in her imperious demeanour at the bar does Propertius allow us a glimpse of the woman who dominated his life.

The poem, composed in finished dramatic style, consists of three panels. With great effectiveness the opening suggests, rather than describes, the funeral journey of the dead woman and her appearance before the tribunal of Aeacus. The centrepiece is heralded at 27 with *ipsa loquar pro me* (*loquor* codd., edd.: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4.337), and consists of her speech to her judges. Finally, at 73 (*nunc tibi*, etc.) she turns to her husband and children for the last time. The general pattern is plain. But closer scrutiny reveals much amiss with the manuscripts.

The critical issue concerns the true location of verse 99 *causa perorata est*, etc. With the school of Scaliger I hold that these words refer to the

conclusion of the central oration; and that the couplet 99f must be transposed before 69 (*fulcite* in 70 continuing the imperative *surgite* of 99). Conservative opinion argues that in her address to her family we must recognize an *excitatio ad misericordiam* or, less absurdly, that the poet has, with the intention of finishing with a powerful finale, reserved a formal statement of conclusion to the end. This argumentation is futile: the resumption of her address to the court, and that merely to conclude it, is emptied of rhetorical power by its abruptness; the intimation of a *dixi* is badly needed by the *nunc* of 73, otherwise convicting her of gross contempt of court; and the poet's imagery at the very end (101 *moribus et caelum*, etc., is a claim for apotheosis with her honoured ancestors) would be ruined by the untimely reminder that they, like her, are in Hades.

This single transposition, however, does not restore complete harmony to the poem; nor upon its correctness depend weighty arguments for several more. One I will undertake to prove; the others I have space only to sketch.

(1) 47-54: "I needed no fear of any judge to make me virtuous; and however severe the tribunal which sits in judgement upon me, no female ancestor of mine will be disgraced by admitting me as one of her number." These verses forcibly imply that the trial has not yet begun; and the defiance which they breathe would be most improper in Cornelia's address to the judge. They fit best after her other defiant statement, viz. 18 *deprecor hic umbrae mollia iura meae*. Housman accordingly moved them after that verse. (As against Housman, I keep *urna* in 49 and — for reasons given earlier — read *at* in 19. In 50, on the other hand, I am attracted by his *accensu*, from *accenseo*.)

(2) 43-44: *non fuit exuuiis tantis*. What *exuuiiae*? None are mentioned in the context. They occur only in 29-32. Therefore, transpose 43-44 with Peerlkamp after 32. The transposition undesignedly heals a difficulty in 33, by giving point to *mox* ("subsequently"): as it stands in the manuscripts the word has no significance, and is merely a succession of phonemes.

(3) 45-46: Cornelia's conduct from the moment of marriage. The couplet must therefore follow the statement of marriage. Housman accordingly placed it after 36.

(4) 65-66: "I died (*rapta*) in my brother's consulship." The couplet therefore precedes 61-62 (*nec mea de sterili facta rapina domo*); and 60 *uidimus . . .* / 65 *uidimus et . . .* confirms the shift, the proposal of Koppiers.

(5) 97-98 (together with 99-100): *et bene habet*. What is well? In the

modern vulgate, nothing. There the words are preceded by wishes, not statements. Between 62 and 73 the couplets fit perfectly.

(6) 63-64: *te, Lepide, et te, Paulle* . . . : Housman shrewdly saw that the pronouns depend on *commendo* in 73; verse 64 is a parenthesis. The modern vulgate represents Cornelia addressing her sons from the grave with an inane remark. Transpose with Housman after 74.

(7) 67-68: the address to her daughter. Obviously out of place in the central panel, this couplet must be transferred to the last. There is only one place to put it: after 96 (Housman).

(8) 71-72: an extolment of fidelity in marriage as a woman's highest honour. As if this is a suitable remark to make to the judge in the day of judgement! The couplet is clearly addressed to her daughter, and must follow 68 (Baehrens) — and follow 68 in its original position. As the penultimate couplet in the poem it exerts upon my ears at least tremendous power.

Such, in briefest outline, are the reasons for believing that Propertius composed his poem in the order (I italicize the transpositions): 1-18; 47-54; 19-32; 43-44; 33-36; 45-46; 37-42; 55-60; 65-66; 61-62; 97-100; 69-70; 73-74; 63-64; 75-96; 67-68; 71-72; 101-102. Few of my readers, I fear, will lightly grant that so much disturbance has taken place; and fewer still will be enthusiastic about admitting one more. But there was another dislocation, to tell the whole truth. And perish the thought that we should settle for less!

- |        |   |
|--------|---|
| 4.11.1 | Desine, Paulle, meum lacrimis urgere sepulcrum: |
| 2      | panditur ad nullas ianua nigra preces;          |
| 3      | cum semel infernas intrarunt funera sedes,      |
| 4      | non exorato stant adamante uiae.                |
| 5      | te licet orantem fuscae deus audiat aulae:      |
| 6      | nempe tuas lacrimas litora surda bibent.        |
| 7      | uota mouent superos: ubi portitor aera recepit, |
| 8      | obserat euersos lurida porta rogos.             |

The dead woman addresses her husband. Line 1: "Cease to shed tears over my grave": line 2: "prayers are of no avail." What is the connection? Paullus is represented in line 1 as weeping, not as praying, which line 2 implies. It would have been more natural to say "Cease to shed tears over my grave — *tears* are of no avail."

*Nos passi grauiora*, do you say? Well, let us read on. Line 3: "After the dead have entered the underworld," line 4: "the paths stand firm with inexorable adamant." Again the connection is obscure. Line 3 implies that the journey is over; line 4, that it has not yet begun. I



should have expected the pentameter to say "the entrance is locked up behind them."

So far we are indeed in the darkness. But lo! Do my eyes deceive me, or is this not a glimmer of light in the third couplet? Line 5: "Although Pluto hears your *prayers*," line 6: "*tears* are of no avail." This is as illogical as the preceding verses, but the pentameter we naturally look for here "*prayers* are of no avail" was expressed in line 2. And — how odd! — it is something of a coincidence that the expected apodosis to line 1 should be so perfectly expressed in line 6.

The coincidence is repeated in the fourth couplet. Line 7: "Appeals move the gods above: once Charon has taken the fare," — here let us dare to be wise, and argue from reason how the poet must have proceeded: he must have alluded to the fact that, unlike the gods above, the gods below are immovable by appeal; and he must also have completed his image of Charon the ferryman by referring to the journey of Charon's passengers. Such a verse we have already come across: it is verse 4. And what we desired in place of verse 4 is what the manuscripts reserve until now: "the entry gate of the grave is shut up."

The case is plain: verses 2 and 6 must be transposed; and so must verses 4 and 8. So far I am at one with Hartman (*Kon. Akad. Amst.* IV/7 [1905] 182 and *Mnem.* 50 [1922] 290f) and Richmond (ed., *adn.* 14, pp. 393ff), who independently restored the pentameters to their rightful hexameters (Koppiers had found 1,6; 5,2; and Ribbeck 3,8 — *RM* 40 [1885] 504f).

My own contribution, slight enough, but I hope it will lead to a recognition of their labours, is a further refinement which reveals a sequence to the images; and is at the same time a simplification, reducing two separate transpositions to one. I discern a single source of error, which can be corrected by transposing verses 2f with 6f:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
|   | Desine, Paulle, meum lacrimis urgere sepulcrum: |
| 6 | nempe tuas lacrimas litora surda bibent.        |
| 7 | uota mouent superos: ubi portitor aera recepit, |
|   | non exorato stant adamante uiae.                |
|   | te licet orantem fuscae deus audiat aulae,      |
| 2 | panditur ad nullas ianua nigra preces;          |
| 3 | cum semel infernas intrarunt funera sedes,      |
|   | obserat euersos lurida porta rogos.             |

So the hitherto trite platitudes become transformed into an artistic suggestion of the dead woman's journey to the underworld. Let me translate a little more carefully, interposing a few words of commentary.



(1,6) "Cease, Paullus, to press my grave with tears: your tears will merely fall upon unresponsive shores." For the rhetorical repetition *lacrimis* . . . / . . . *lacrimas*, see verses 19f, and 39f. The notion of wetness, introduced by *lacrimis*, is subtly exploited in *litora bibent*, which paves the way for reference to the Styx in the next couplet.

(7,4) "Appeals move the gods above, but once the ferryman has received his fare, the journey stands fast with inexorable adamant." The unity of the couplet receives some confirmation from the formal derivation from Virg. *Aen.* 2.298ff, *portitor* . . . *Charon, cui* . . . *stant lumina flamma*. The pentameter is difficult, but the old commentators had observed that in Alcaeus of Messene (*Anth. Pal.* 7.412.8 εὔτε σιδηρεῖην οἶμον ἔβης Ἀιδέω) occurs the same bold metaphor "when you went along the adamantine journey of Death." The word *adamante*, with its suggestion of *porta aduersa ingens solidoque adamante columnae* prepares us for the very halls of Hades. By poetic fancy the dead woman has now crossed the Styx and passed through the portals of adamant.

(5,2) "And even though the god of the tenebrous mansion should hear you praying, the door of darkness is opened to no prayers." The cohesion of the two verses is convincingly demonstrated by Richmond, who suggests that the poet is here representing Pluto as the stern janitor standing between lover and beloved, compare Hor. *Carm.* 3.11.15f *cessit immanis tibi blandienti / ianitor aulae*; and Ovid, *Am.* 1.6.27 *ferreus orantem nequiquam, ianitor, audis*.

(3,8) "When once the dead have entered the infernal dwelling, an ashen gate bolts up the burnt-out pyre." Cornelia has now completed her journey, and the imagery shifts to her cremation, a theme pursued in the next couplet. Once the corpse is burnt, the poet wishes to say, the spirit of the dead person enters the abode below, and the reduction of the pyre to ashes is to be thought of as a process of locking an entrance door shutting up that spirit for ever.

What caused the transposition of verses I do not know. But I have a confident feeling that our old acquaintance the Propertias has been up to his tricks. If I had to guess, I should say that he winced at the word *surda* "unresponsive," which he thought could only mean "deaf." One can be deaf to words, he reasoned, but not to tears. Noticing in line 5 the word *audiat*, he jumped to the conclusion that there was the counterpart to *surda*, but realized that the consecutive verses containing *litora* and *portitor* must not be separated. So he deliberately transposed verses 2 and 3 with verses 6 and 7.

Possibly I err in Propertius (as did the prince of scholars in Milton) by fixing upon some wholly imaginary monster responsibility for the

mutilation of the author's work. Still, that his poems have suffered gross defacement and that, having suffered that defacement, they are not yet restored to a satisfactory degree in our current editions, I hope to have established. And the existence of *l'innominato* would in a realistic way account for much incoherence and disharmony in the text of Propertius for which accidental slips of the scribes' pens and congenital derangement of the poet's mind seem alike to me untenable explanations.

## CURAE SECUNDAE

In "*Amatoria Critica*" (HSCP 69 [1965] 1-107) I should have cited Prop. 2.25.26 (p. 60) with the correct reading *arte rota*. What I wrote on Prop. 3.7.60 (p. 71) I completely retract: the corruption lies not in *longas*, but in *manus*; and that the original word was *comas*, as Oudendorp diffidently suggested and Luck has now printed, came to me as a chastening revelation when I read Alton's superb treatment of the crux in *Hermathena* 49 (1935) 48-51.

Furthermore, I have to condemn myself for excessive enthusiasm in faulting Kenney's text at *Ars* 1.430 (there is no hyperbaton); 2.193f; 2.356; and 2.590 (R has *et*), as for inadequate attention when passing it at *Am.* 2.9.36 (*hac* Luck, *RM* 105 [1962] 351); 3.4.20 (*nempe* Heinsius, Bentley); 3.9.23 *et Linon* (*aelinon* Scaliger); *Rem.* 7f (comma after *faciam*: *nunc quoque* to be construed with *amo*); and 133 (*uitia*).

A few other passages warrant notice. *Am.* 1.10.5 *agris*: though it did not and does not induce me to accept Burman's *Argis*, I should have candidly admitted that "thirsty" is a common epithet for Argos from Homer (*Il.* 4.171) onward. *Am.* 1.10.30: *licenda* must now be read with the Berlin manuscript. *Am.* 2.19.20: I should have supported my emendation with Prop. 4.5.29 *simulare uirum*. *Am.* 3.1.7: I was negligent in declaring *Elegeia* (p. 12) the spelling of the archetype; perhaps *Elegia*, the spelling of the  $\beta$ -group, is correct after all. *Am.* 3.3.17f: Revilo Oliver would read *an non . . . ?*, which I am now inclined to accept. *Medic.* 27: Heinsius' *uenentur* is probably right. *Ars* 3.440: in support of my conjecture Willis cites Virg. *Aen.* 2.345. *Rem.* 364: add Prop. 4.11.49 *quamlibet* Livineius: *quaelibet* codd. *Rem.* 704: *tuque fauens*, which I had believed to be an original conjecture, turns out to be the reading of Pb (Kenney's report of *faueas* being a misprint).

At *Rem.* 221f, *nec quot transieris, sed quot tibi, quaere, supersint* / *milia*, where *sed* is manifestly wrong, I had loudly called for recognition of Damsté's *nec*. Ichabod, ichabod! When I solicited Willis' applause for my note, he took one look at the passage and lugubriously observed that Ovid must have written *et*, i.e., *nec quaere milia quot transieris et quot tibi supersint*: "Don't calculate the miles covered *and* outstanding": possibly the final vowel of *transieris* was not recognized as long (cf. *Ars* 1.389); possibly -s *et* degenerated into *sed* without wilful alteration; in the next

verse the contorted word order was enough to cause corruption of *ut* to *nec*. With the emotions of one who has expected a call girl and opened the door to a nun, I weakly heard him describe my rendering as inaccurate, my perception as clouded, and my palaeographical explanation as pure babble from the padded cell.

Once again I am privileged to end an article by putting on record a new and true conjecture of a fellow scholar.

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## THE POEM ON THE CICADA

ALBRECHT DIHLE

THE sixty Anacreontic poems preserved in Cod. Paris. Suppl. Graec. 384 are very different from each other in language, style, meter, prosody, and above all, literary value.<sup>1</sup> One of the most famous among them, no. 34 according to the latest edition,<sup>2</sup> which even inspired Goethe's elegant translation, seems to deserve closer examination.

Μακαρίζομέν σε, τέττιξ,  
 ὅτε δενδρέων ἐπ' ἄκρων  
 ὀλίγην δρόσον πεπωκὼς  
 βασιλεὺς ὅπως αἰεῖδεις.  
 5 Σὰ γὰρ ἔστι κείνα πάντα,  
 ὅποσα βλέπεις ἐν ἄγροῖς  
 χ' ὅποσα φέρουσιν ὕλαι.  
 Σὺ δὲ φίλια γεωργῶν,  
 ἀπὸ μηδενός τι βλάπτων·  
 10 σὺ δὲ τίμιος βροτοῖσιν,  
 θέρεος γλυκὺς προφήτης.  
 Φιλέουσι μὲν σε Μοῦσαι,  
 φιλέει δὲ Φοῖβος αὐτός,  
 λιγυρὴν δ' ἔδωκεν οἴμην.  
 15 Τὸ δὲ γήρας οὐ σε τείρει,  
 σοφέ, γηγενής, φίλυμνε,  
 ἀπαθής, ἀναιμόσαρκε,  
 σχεδὸν εἰ θεοῖς ὅμοιος.

5 καινά cod., corr. Stadtmüller 7 κόποσα cod.  
 χὠπόσα Crusius, sed cf. 9.5, 41.6 8 ἴσ. φίλιος  
 in marg. cod. 15 γέρας εὐ σε τηρεῖ cod.,  
 corr. Stadtmüller 17 ἀπαθής cod., corr.  
 Stadtmüller. — 11 Hes. *Op.* 582.

The anaclastic Ionics of the poem have been correctly composed apart from two prosodic errors: χ' ὅποσα φέρουσιν ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ (line 7) and σὺ δὲ φίλια ∪ ∪ — ∪ — (line 8). Nearly all of the about four dozen prosodical mistakes made in the collection belong to this particular type: *A*, *I*, and *Y* are regarded as *δίχρονα* because their quantities are

not indicated in traditional orthography. This convention of late Greek versification in classical meters must have been established when differences in quantity ceased to be pronounced in the spoken language. It was kept throughout the Byzantine period in hexameters, trimeters, hemiambs, and the like.<sup>3</sup>

This poem, being written in purely quantitative meter, shows no traces of any additional regulation of certain word accents as do Nonnus' hexameters and Byzantine trimeters; nor does it betray any influence which the accents could exercise on conventional prosody and meter, as can be seen in some poems of the Anacreontic collection<sup>4</sup> as well as in some pieces of rather vulgar poetry of the second and third centuries after Christ, in which a short syllable bearing the accent of the word sometimes replaces a long one required by the meter.<sup>5</sup> Thus the poem on the cicada represents an entirely learned and traditional poetry without any element of popular versification.

Its language is a curious mixture of heterogeneous elements, as is typical of learned poetry of the late period. There are Ionic or even epic forms (13 φιλέει, 14 λιγυρήν), Attic or κοινή forms (8 φιλία), words used only in poetic diction (5 κείνα, 10 βροτοῖσιν), and those of a painfully prosaic character (18 σχεδὸν . . . ὅμοιος).<sup>6</sup> Doricisms are completely absent, although they are present in many other pieces of the same collection, perhaps under the influence of bucolic poetry. The impact that Attic tragedy made on the general development of poetic language can still be seen in line 4, where the sequence βασιλεὺς ὅπως has its closest parallels in Attic drama.<sup>7</sup> The archaic character of this artificial language is clearly attested by ἔδωκε (14), which ought to be δέδωκε from the fifth or at least the fourth century B.C. onwards, as was shown by J. Wackernagel (cf. Ps.-Tyrt. *Frag.* 2 Diehl).<sup>8</sup>

Some of the linguistic and stylistic features are particularly noteworthy. Φιλία in the sense of φίλος or φίλιος, as explained on the margin of the manuscript, has no parallel in poetry or prose. There are only instances of the use of (ὦ) φιλότης as an address instead of φίλε in several texts of various origins.<sup>9</sup> One might assume, therefore, that φιλότης could be said instead of φίλος also of a third person. Yet the expression ἡ σὴ φιλία is well attested in Christian texts from the fourth century onwards among a great number of honorific or simply polite forms of address such as ἡ σὴ μεγαλοπρέπεια, ἡ σὴ εὐλόβεια, and the like.<sup>10</sup> Such a usage may have influenced the language of this poem.

The next line (9), ἀπὸ μηδενός τι βλάπτων, has provoked many conjectures, but the wording is obviously correct. Ἀποβλάπτω meaning "ruin, deprive," as attested in Pindar, Sophocles, and Plato, can be



disregarded. Ἀπό with the genitive to denote the equipment, the instrument, or even the acting person — thus competing with ὑπό with the genitive and the instrumental dative — had already been used widely in early Ionic. There are several examples in Herodotus<sup>11</sup> and even in Thucydides, whose language has many Ionic features.<sup>12</sup> In pure Attic the use of ἀπό in a similar sense is very restricted.<sup>13</sup> The post-classical κοινή, however, largely used and even further developed the Ionic practice, thus gradually expanding the use and meaning of ἀπό at the expense of the dative and several prepositions. Many parallels to the passage in question where ἀπὸ μηδενός can be rendered by something like “by no means” are listed in the dictionaries of Sophocles, Bauer, and Lampe.

The use of μηδέν instead of οὐδέν (9), which would be required by classical standards, is good testimony that μή, although it had nearly disappeared from the spoken language, still occurred frequently in learned and literary texts.

Another word that would not have been so used by classical standards is προφήτης (11). According to earlier Greek usage, a προφήτης never gives an oracle but explains or announces it. The προφήται that a well-organized temple may have among its priests are clearly distinct from the μάντις.<sup>14</sup> Only in a few passages of Attic tragedy are persons generally concerned with prophecy spoken of as προφήται.<sup>15</sup> Plato, however, calls the cicadas Μουσῶν προφήται (*Phaedr.* 262d), which does not imply that they are distinguished by their prophetic power but only refers to their singing as a gift of the Muses. But in all Jewish and Christian texts a προφήτης is just a foreteller or prophet who does not interpret oracles given by anybody else. This meaning of the word also applies to pagan foretellers or Sibyls.<sup>16</sup> The use of προφήτης in Jewish and Christian texts — and in this poem as well — goes back to conditions existing in the Old Testament, where no μάντις, Sibyl, or priest is supposed to stand between Yahwe and his prophet, the latter being himself a foreteller in the service of his God.

Finally, the poet clearly misunderstood the original meaning of οὔμη (14), which had been incorporated many centuries earlier into the vocabulary of the poetic tradition. Nowhere else does οὔμη mean, as it does here, “the power of voice,” “the gift of song,” and the like, but always a definite piece of poetry (or music) or perhaps a certain style or technique of poetic invention.

Applying classical standards as we have done in examining the language and style of the poem, we are likely to consider these lines as representing a highly degenerate and disintegrated poetic tradition.

But such a verdict would be hasty and perhaps unjust, for the point probably hidden in that strange *μακαρισμός* must still be discovered.

Throughout the poem, the cicada is compared with the sage of the Stoic tradition. The little animal is said to be king (4) and owner of everything (5-7); it does not do any harm (8-9), is the true meteorologist and musician (11-14), is loved by the gods (12-13), is not affected by wealth and luxury (3)<sup>17</sup> or old age (15). We know this Stoic doctrine of the sage from various doxographical sources.<sup>18</sup> In line 16, finally, the cicada is simply spoken to as *σοφέ*, and the following line even mentions the chief ingredient of Stoic *εὐδαιμονία*, namely *ἀπάθεια*. But whereas ordinary men, *προκόπτοντες*, have to undergo a permanent struggle for moral perfection, the little cicada has been given the *τέλος* of moral life simply by nature, because it has no blood in its body; and blood, according to a well-known theory, is the physical medium of mental emotions and affections.<sup>19</sup> So even the allusion to the origin of the cicada as described in Aristotle's zoology (*Hist. An.* 556b6)<sup>20</sup> can be explained in terms of a Stoic allegory: human wickedness is due to the distortion (*διαστροφή*) of the intentionally good nature of man under the conditions of social life. The cicada, being an offspring of the earth, is untouched by those poisonous influences and maintains its undistorted nature. Such an interpretation coincides with the popular belief, according to which the quality of being earthborn is considered a mark of high distinction among human beings.

Still, in the last line, describing the little grasshopper's *εὐδαιμονία*, the terminology shifts from Stoicism to Platonism. The cicada has almost reached the *τέλος* as defined in the Platonic tradition, the *ὁμοίωσις θεῷ*. Attempts to identify the Stoic *ἀπάθεια* and the Platonic *ὁμοίωσις θεῷ* were made as early as the philosophical syncretism of the first century B.C. This was easily done, because the Supreme Being is free from affections according to the creed of all philosophical schools.<sup>21</sup> But the identification became particularly important in early Christian moral teaching from the time of Clement of Alexandria onwards,<sup>22</sup> especially in monastic literature. *Ἀπάθεια* could fairly well denote the chief aim of Christian asceticism, and *ὁμοίωσις θεῷ* obviously corresponded to the *εἰκὼν θεοῦ* in chapter 1 of Genesis,<sup>23</sup> which describes man's *status originalis*.

Thus the mixture of Stoic and Platonic terms in the praise of the cicada is hardly surprising. Nevertheless, the Platonic *ὁμοίωσις θεῷ* clearly marks the climax and apparently refers to *μακαρίζομεν* in the first line, thus creating a frame for the whole poem.

The climax of praise is also indicated by the increasing frequency of

statements and addresses in the second portion of the poem. The first lines draw a rather idyllic picture whose value is mainly emotional. In the following sections the poet has to apply many rather abstract notions taken from philosophical doctrine. Hence he tries to compensate for the lack of emotional implications by considerably accelerating the poetic diction up to the accumulation of addresses in 16-17. So the structure and coloring of the poem depend entirely on its point, which is, in fact, a fairly scholarly joke. The author applies to the little cicada and its most enjoyable life the main statements which the syncretistic and christianized philosophy of his own time made on the nature of human *εὐδαιμονία* and on the aim of moral progress, thus giving point and structure to a facetious poem of indisputable unity.

We do not want to overrate the literary quality of this little piece of poetry. But the poem testifies that a method of poetic production typical of the Hellenistic period survived still in those late days. The *poeta doctus* of Hellenistic society used to prove his skill and taste by mastering a huge bulk of heavy learning in short or at least pointed poems. Virtually the same method has been followed in this poem with this sole exception, that the learning to be shown is philosophical rather than mythological or antiquarian, and that accordingly it has to be referred to in abstract notions and terms rather than in rare names or abbreviated narratives. But in both cases the poet is required to assume an attitude of ironical detachment which underlies his elegance and witticism — qualities by no means absent from this poem, which demands a public of equal erudition.

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to fix the date of the poem. Even the relative chronology of the whole collection is far from being established, because many details of language, style, and meter have not yet been properly examined. As for this poem, a date before the fourth century after Christ seems to be as unlikely as one after the sixth century. Some peculiarities in style and language, such as *φιλία* and *προφήτης*, can hardly be earlier than the fourth century, especially in a text representing a considerable amount of erudition, whereas its prosodic irregularities could be attributed to the third century as well. Since the middle Byzantine period is excluded by the conditions under which the collection has been handed down to us, and since the seventh and eighth centuries are extremely unlikely to have produced poetry of this kind, the time between A.D. 350 and 580 is left for the possible date. Favorable conditions for this kind of literary production existed during the period in question at some places in Syria, such as Antioch or Gaza. But neither Constantinople nor Alexandria nor Athens can be ruled

out, for philosophical education — sometimes as a part of theological studies — and literary erudition were widespread in the eastern territories of the later Roman Empire even towards the end of the sixth century.

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## NOTES

1. O. Crusius tried to classify and to date the poems of the Anacreontic collection (*RE* 1.2045). But there are far more criteria to be taken into account than he could realize more than sixty years ago.

2. C. Preisendanz (Leipzig 1912).

3. This prosodic rule of Byzantine poetry written in classical verses was discovered by P. Maas (*BZ* 12 [1903] 320ff), who attributed, however, its coming into use to a much later period.

4. E.g., nos. 40 and 41.

5. Cf. "Die Anfänge der griechischen akzentuierenden Verskunst" in *Hermes* 82 (1954) 182-99.

6. Only in Attic drama is *σχεδόν* used in a small number of idioms such as *σχεδόν οἶδα*, *σχεδόν εἶρηκα* (e.g., Soph. *El.* 609, Eur. *Tr.* 898), but never in combination with an adjective, except from Eur. *Ph.* 1304 and *Frag.* 676.

7. E.g., Aesch. *Prom.* 1001.

8. J. Wackernagel, *Kleine Schriften*, II (Göttingen 1956) 1000ff.

9. Plato *Phaedr.* 228d; Philox. *Frag.* 836.7 Page; Ps.-Hippoc. *Ep.* 17.

10. H. Zilliacus, *Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen und Höflichkeitstiteln im Griechischen* (Helsingfors 1949).

11. For the varying use of modal or instrumental *ἀπό*, cf. Herod. 1.14, 2.42, 3.135, 4.22, 7.164 v.l. A typical example of the vulgar use in postclassical Greek is furnished by *Pap. Gr. Mag.* 4.2128 (vol. I, p. 136): *σφραγίζω ἀπὸ ῥύπου*.

12. The close parallel between Thuc. 7.29 v.l. and this poem (*βλάπτω τι ἀπὸ τινος*) has already been noted in Poppo's commentary *ad loc.*

13. A comparable use of *ἀπό* in classical Attic always implies the conception of a source from which support or supply is obtained (cf. Aristoph. *Plut.* 569 or Dem. 3.34).

14. Epigraphical evidence for the terminological meaning of *μάντις* and *προφήτης* has been collected in Liddell-Scott s.v. *προφήτης*. Cf. also Pind. *Frag.* 150 Snell: *μαντεύεο, Μοῖσα, προφατεύσω δ' ἐγώ*.

15. E.g., Aesch. *Sept.* 611; Aristoph. *Av.* 972.

16. E.g., Titus 1.12.

17. The cicada is thought of as needing either no nourishment at all or only some dew (Aristoph. *Nub.* 1360, Plato *Phaedr.* 259c, Theocr. 4.16, Leonid. *Anth. Pal.* 6.120, and even Aristot. *Hist. An.* 532b13). For other popular beliefs attached to the cicada cf. Steier *RE* 9 (2e Reihe) 1113ff.

18. The sage (*σοφός*, *σπουδαῖος*) is king (*SVF* III 332, 618ff); he owns everything, being the only rich man (III 593f, 596ff); he has no need for luxury and comfort (III 705ff); he is *φιλόμουσος* (III 294), a good prophet and scientist



(III 654ff), he always helps and never harms his neighbor (III 309, 578, 625ff), and he is *θεοφιλής* (III 584, 608).

19. F. Rüsche, *Blut, Leben und Seele* (Paderborn 1930).

20. Aristotle reports (*Hist. An.* 556b6) that the female cicada puts her eggs in a hollow cane or twigs and that the larvae coming out of the eggs dig themselves into the ground, whence they reappear as fully developed insects. Accordingly, the cicada was considered the symbol of the Athenian claim to being *αὐτόχθονες* (Heracl. Pont. *Frag.* 55 Wehrli, Ael. *Var. Hist.* 4.22; cf. *RE* 9[2e Reihe] 1118-19).

21. M. Pohlenz, *Vom Zorne Gottes* (Göttingen 1909).

22. H. Merki, 'Ομοίωσις θεῷ (Freiburg [Schweiz] 1952).

23. Cf. *Reallex. f. Ant. u. Christ.* 3 (1956) 754ff and 764.





## AN INDO-EUROPEAN CONSTRUCTION IN GREEK AND LATIN

CALVERT WATKINS

IN the course of the last fifty years a number of scholars have independently called attention to a singular syntactic feature of both Greek and Latin: the iteration of a compound verb in a succeeding clause or sentence by the simple verb alone, but with the semantic force of the compound.

The phenomenon is noted in a "knappe Hinweise" (Fraenkel, see below) by Jakob Wackernagel in *Vorlesungen über Syntax* II (1928<sup>2</sup>) 177, who begins with a fourth-century Attic inscription (IG II 17.36ff<sup>3</sup> 378/7). Since he does not give the whole passage, I cite it here:

... μη εξείναι μητε ιδ  
ιαι μητε δημοσ[ι]αι Αθηναιων μηθενι εγ  
κτησασθαι εν τ[α]ις των συμμαχων χωραι  
ς μητε οικιαν μητε χωριον μητε πριαμε  
νωι μητε υποθε[μ]ενωι μητε αλλωι τροπω  
ι μηθενι. εαν δε τις ωνηται η κταται η τι  
θηται τροπωι οτωιδν . . .

Here ἐγκτήσασθαι is resumed by κτᾶται without preverb ἐν-, and ὑποθεμένωι by τιθῆται; as Wackernagel points out, τιθῆται here would be meaningless unless taken in the technical legal sense of ὑποτιθῆται "takes a mortgage on." This passage is of particular value for being nonliterary in character; one may note as well here the syntactically rather intricate nature of the resumption of compound and simple verb, which is good evidence for the naturalness of the construction. Wackernagel further compares two instances from the literary language: Soph. *Oed. R.* 1076 ἀναρρήξει . . . ῥηγνύτω; Plato *Resp.* 6.370E προσδεήσει . . . δεήσει, while at the same time allowing that the simplex would make sense in the resumptive clause in both.

In a brief section (pp. 49–51) of an article entitled "Silua coniecturarum," *AJP* 76 (1955) 47–62, Wendell Clausen directed attention to the phenomenon in Latin as well, where it had previously been noted only by Housman on Manil. 1.271, 3.122 and 328. Clausen refers for Greek to the notices of Elmsley on Eur. *Med.* 1219 (perhaps

the earliest mention, 1818), Stallbaum on Plato *Phaed.* 59B, Dodds on Eur. *Bacch.* 1065, and in general to Kühner-Gerth II 2.568, where further instances may be found. He gives ten examples in Latin from Housman (one from Lucretius, three from Ovid, and six from Manilius), and adds nineteen more, from Lucretius and Catullus through Ovid, Seneca, and Martial to the Priapea. Typical is Cat. 89.5 *qui ut nihil attingat, nisi quod fas tangere non est*; or with a greater interval, Cat. 62.1 *uesper adest, iuuenes, consurgite, 3 surgere iam tempus*. Clausen also notes (p. 50) that "on occasion the prefix of a compound verb is understood with a subsequent simple verb, even though the simple verb be derived from an entirely different root": e.g., Verg. *Aen.* 1.698 *aurea composuit sponda mediamque locauit*, where the latter is explicitly taken as *collocauit* by Servius. Clausen gives parallels from Greek; for another Indo-European language see below.

I am indebted to E. Handley for calling my attention to the study of W. G. Arnott, *CQ* 5 (1955) 214, who quotes Menander *Epitrep.* 558 (*ὑπομαίνεται . . . μαίνεται*), after T. B. L. Webster. The citation is intended to support the spurious character of *πινῶμεν, ἐμπινῶμεν* in Alexis, *Asotodidaskalos* 25 K., which shows the inverse order: a view subsequently refuted by *δίδου, μεταδίδου* in Menander, *Dysc.* 818. In the inversion of the latter two cases we may see either an artificial feature, or more likely a colloquialism. It will be noted that in both cases the forms are juxtaposed, which was not a necessary condition of the earlier construction.

Eduard Fraenkel discusses the construction, defending MSS *ἀπέροχοι . . . ἐλθόν* in Arist. *Aves* 948-49, in the *Festschrift G. Jachmann* (1959) 20-22 [= *Kleine Beiträge* I 440-42]. It is worth quoting Fraenkel's words: "Diese Art der Wiederaufnahme hat an sich mit poetischer Sprache nichts zu tun; sie gehört der Sprache des Lebens an." He refers to Wackernagel, Elmsley, R. A. Neil on Arist. *Equites* 98, and adduces two further examples from Aristophanes. In Latin, as he states, the construction is "ungemein verbreitet"; he brings eleven examples, drawn from the XII Tables, Plautus, Ennius, Terence, Catullus, Lucretius, Propertius, and Ovid. Most interesting is that from archaic legal usage, Tab. 8.2 *si im occisit, iure caesus esto*, for it shows that the construction is virtually as old in Latin as our documentation of the language.

Clausen in a review of P. J. Enk's edition of Propertius Bk. II, *AJP* 86 (1965) 97-98, notes Fraenkel's study and adds finally another twenty-three examples from Latin poetry, while at the same time rejecting Cat. 64.13-14 *incanduit . . . candenti* (cited by Fraenkel) in

favor of *incanuit*. Clausen states explicitly that this construction "was a native feature of Latin . . . adapted and embellished by the poets." At this point it may be hoped that some notice of the construction will be taken in Latin grammars to come. I have purposefully quoted all the references cited by these scholars — in all humility, having no further examples to add from Greek or Latin — since I think it perhaps of some advantage to have them gathered together in one place.

It will be observed that the authors cited above universally, and quite correctly, attribute this feature to genuine popular speech; in no wise can it be considered by origin a purely literary phenomenon. The subsequent development in the Latin poetry of the Empire would suggest that it had been taken over as a poetic figure; but this means simply that a genuine syntactic feature of an older stage of the language was preserved and elaborated in poetic discourse as a stylistic feature after being lost, or at any rate on the decline, in popular speech. Such a situation is a commonplace in poetic, legal, ritual, or other specialized formal usage in Greek, Latin, and all other early Indo-European languages. In all these cases, internal reconstruction indicates that the syntactic feature in question is an archaism.

The absence of any examples of this construction from Homer is striking. But the Linear B tablets have shown us that the absence of a given feature from the Homeric corpus is no guarantee of its lateness, and the quite artificial character of Homeric language, the very particular social aspects of its tradition, would suggest rather that this archaic feature was systematically excluded; perhaps as "popular," rather than "elevated," in contrast to the appreciation of a far later age in Rome.

More striking is the presence of this construction in legal language, both in Athens and in Rome. In his remarks, Wackernagel cites an Attic legal inscription, and it is the great merit of E. Fraenkel to have been the first to quote the example from the XII Tables. The archaism of legal language, not only in Rome but in most other Indo-European traditions, is notorious; on some of the implications of this for linguistic studies see my forthcoming paper "Studies in Latin and Indo-European legal language," in the proceedings of the conference on Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans held at Philadelphia, April 1966. When we observe the construction in question independently in Greek and in Roman legal language, the case for its genuine archaic character is considerably strengthened. The law represents a sphere of discourse wholly different in style and content from the epic; that a feature of the former should be absent from the latter is scarcely surprising.

If we have then a syntactic feature, archaic on internal evidence both

in Greek and Latin, the possibility — however remote — still remains that its presence in Latin represents a diffusion from Greek. Even in the phraseology of technical legal expressions in the XII Tables Greek influence may be detected, as Norden has shown (*Aus altrömischen Priesterbüchern* 254ff, 291). But if the same syntactic feature can be demonstrated from a third Indo-European tradition wholly independent of Greece and Rome, then in accord with the basic tenets of the comparative method we are justified in attributing that feature to the common original language, Indo-European itself; and the presence of the construction in the three related languages is due to historical, genetic filiation.

Such a third tradition does in fact exist: the cuneiform texts of archaic Hittite in the middle of the second millennium B.C. Though not heretofore noticed by Hittitologists, the iteration of a compound verb in a succeeding clause or sentence is by the simple verb without preverb, but with the force of the compound, in Hittite exactly as in Greek and Latin. Hittite is particularly noteworthy in that the formal univertation of verb and preverb, already an accomplished fact at the time of our earliest examples of the construction in Greek and Latin, has not yet taken place; verb and preverb are in Hittite separate, independent words, albeit forming a semantic unit. The following examples in no way represent a systematic collection, but the uniform syntactic treatment is sufficient to show that the construction is a wholly regular and natural feature of the early Hittite language of the Old Kingdom.

The first example is taken from the Hittite Laws; the text is that of the most archaic version A, in the sigla of J. Friedrich's edition *Die hethitischen Gesetze*, which from its ductus has been shown by H. G. Güterbock to have been written in the time of the Old Kingdom (*Jour. of Cuneif. Stud.* 15 [1961] 62-78). The context is that of noxal surrender, on which one may be referred to the forthcoming conference paper cited above. We read (I §95): *takku BEL-ŠU tezzi šer-šit-wa šarnikmi nu šarnikzi* "If his master says 'I shall make restitution (*šer šarnikmi*) for him,' he makes restitution (*šarnikzi*)." Further in I §99, in the same general context, we have *takku ĪR-aš Ê-ir lukkizzi išhaš-šiš-a šer-šit šarnikzi . . . takku natta-ma šarnikzi . . .* "if a slave sets a house on fire and his master makes restitution for him . . . but if he does not make restitution . . ." Here *šer-šit* is Friedrich's restoration in A ([*še-ir ši-i*]t); but version B has the preverb, and cf. I §95 above.

We have another example with the same verb, in a virtually identical passage, in the fragment of a Hittite treaty with a King Šunaššura of



Kizzuwatna, most recently edited by H. Petschow, *Zeitschrift f. Assyriologie* N.F. 21 (1963) 237-50. KUB XXXVI 127 Rs. 13-14: *nu-šši-ššan* [*mān BEL-ŠU šer x x šarn*] *ikzi nu* 12 SAG.DU *pāi mān ŪL šarnikzi* [*nu ĪR-pát parā šuie*] *zzi* "If his master makes restitution for him, he gives 12 persons; if he does not make restitution, he hands over the slave." The lacuna in the text is safely restored after *nu-šše-šan mān BEL-ŠU šer ŪL šarnikzi* of KUB VIII 81 III 4-5.

A further example from the Laws, with a different verb, is I §86. If a pig trespasses in a field and the owner of the field strikes the pig and it dies, *n-an išhi-šši EGIR-pa pāi*; *takku-an ŪL-ma pai, n-aš* LUNI.ZU-*aš kiša* "he gives it back (*EGIR-pa pāi*=*appa pāi*) to its owner; but if he does not give it back (*pāi*), he becomes a thief." Here Friedrich's translation "(zurück)gibt" shows that he also understood the simple verb as the compound.

From the Proclamation of Telepinuš, likewise in the archaic language of the Old Kingdom, we have (2 BoTU 23A II 43-44) *kiššann-a lē tēši arḫa-wa parkunummi parkunuši-ma-za ŪL kuit* "Do not speak as follows: 'I shall pardon' (*arḫa parkunummi*), but you do not pardon (*parkunuši*) at all."

As we noted above, Clausen has pointed out cases in Latin and Greek where the preverb of a compound verb is to be understood with a subsequent simple verb even if the latter has a wholly different root. I suggest that we have an instance of the same phenomenon in Hittite, in the following example from the first Plague Prayer of Mušiliš (ed. A. Götze, *Jahrbuch f. kleinasiat. Forsch.* 1 [1929] 161-251): I Rs. 50-51 *nu-mu-kan ŠÀ-az laḫlaḫiman arḫa ueyatten NI.TE-az-ma-mu-kan pittulian datten* "chase the pain from my heart, take the anguish from my soul." Here *arḫa uiya-* "wegjagen" is followed by *dā-* alone, "nehmen" in the sense of "wegnehmen," Hitt. *arḫa dā-*. That the ablative case of NI.TE-*az* alone does not mark the notion of "taking away from" is shown by the presence of that case in the parallel passage of II §1.6: NI.TE-*az-ma-za pittulian ŪL tarahmi* "I cannot conquer the anguish in my soul."



## ON THE VERB *VERO* IN ENNIUS

P. COLACLIDES

IN his *Noctes Atticae* 18.2, Gellius tells us of the manner in which he and his friends, all Roman students in Greece, were wont to celebrate the Saturnalia in Athens. They seated themselves around the table and took turns at attempting to solve the problems and riddles set them by their host. Gellius refers to a particular occasion on which seven topics were discussed, the fourth of which was the question: who was the ancient poet who had used the verb *uerant* as the equivalent of *uera dicunt*? He goes on to say that all the questions were resolved except the one concerning the verb *uerant*. "Nobody remembered," he says, "that this word was to be found in a verse from the thirteenth book of the *Annals* of Ennius:

satin uates uerant aetate in agunda?

The wreath to be conferred for the solution of this problem was therefore offered up to the god whose feast it was that day, to Saturn."

It is Gellius' reference to this line that has preserved it for us, and not only the line, but also the interpretation of *uerant* and the number of the book in which the line was to be found.

We are not certain how the "sententia" expressed in this line came to be formulated. J. Vahlen<sup>1</sup> suggests that the words were spoken by Hannibal to Antiochus; E. H. Warmington<sup>2</sup> thinks that they indicate Antiochus in his defeat at Thermopylae in 191 B.C.

As to the context of the line, Vahlen produces a passage from Diodorus Siculus (Exc. 8.6):

"Ὅτι τῶν κυνῶν ὠρνομένων καὶ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἀπελπιζόντων προσελθὼν τις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων παρεκάλει τὰ πλήθη μὴ προσέχειν τοῖς μάντεσι σχεδιάζουσι καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων βίων αὐτοὺς πλείστοις ἁμαρτήμασι περιπίπτειν, ὥς μὴ δυναμένους προῖδέσθαι τὸ μέλλον, καὶ νῦν ὑπὲρ ὧν εἰκὸς μόνους τοὺς θεοὺς γινώσκειν ἀδυνατεῖν ἀνθρώπους ὄντας ἐπίστασθαι.

It is also worth observing that Ennius himself refers to a similar subject in a fragment of his tragedy, *Telamo* (*scen.* 319–23 Vahlen):

. . . superstitiosi uates inpudentesque harioli,  
aut inertes aut insani aut quibus egestas imperat,  
qui sibi semitam non sapiunt, alteri monstrant uiam,  
quibus diuitias pollicentur, ab iis drachumam ipsi petunt.  
de his diuitiis sibi deducant drachumam, reddant cetera.

This fragment has been preserved for us by Cicero in his *De diuinatione*. The Greek sources for this fragment were brought to light by Vahlen in his edition of Ennius, and by Pease in his edition of the *De diuinatione*. Another line, most probably from the *Telamo*, again preserved by Cicero in the same work, and again referring to augurs, runs:

qui sui quaestus causa fictas suscitant sententias.

I believe that the verb *uero*, used only in this instance in Latin, has a model in the Greek verb ἀλητεύω, and it is important to note that we find it in a parallel context in the *Anabasis* of Xenophon where, in 1.7.18, Cyrus calls Silanus, a seer of Ambracia, and tells him: 'Εὰν δ' ἀληθεύῃς, ὑπισχνούμαι σοι δέκα τάλαντα. The same verb occurs in other passages in the *Anabasis*, the most important of which is in 5.6.18: Τὰς δέκα ἡμέρας ἡγήθευσε θυόμενος Κύρω.

The expression "to speak the truth" was rendered in Greek in three ways:

- (1) ἀληθέα or ἀλήθειαν λέγειν
- (2) τῇ ἀληθείῃ χρῆσθαι
- (3) ἀληθεύειν.

Τῇ ἀληθείῃ χρῆσθαι<sup>3</sup> may be rendered exactly as "to comply with the truth." Ἀληθεύειν also conveyed this meaning, but it may further be construed as "to be true" or "to prove true." J. Lohmann, one of the most penetrating explorers into Greek thought and language, has called this verb "untranslatable" because of the Greek conception of truth.<sup>4</sup> According to Lohmann, we have in the verb ἀληθεύειν a fusion of the notions of λόγος, νοῦς, and οὐσία. The complex character of the content of ἀληθεύειν is apparent from its use in certain passages of Aristotle: οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὸ ἡμᾶς οἶεσθαι ἀληθῶς σε λευκὸν εἶναι εἰ σὺ λευκός, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ σέ εἶναι λευκὸν ἡμεῖς οἱ φάντες τοῦτο ἀληθεύομεν (*Met.* 1051b.6–9); ἔστω δὴ οἷς ἀληθεύει ἡ ψυχὴ τῷ καταφάναι ἢ ἀποφάναι πέντε τὸν ἀριθμόν· ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τέχνη ἐπιστήμη φρόνησις σοφία νοῦς (*Eth. Nic.* 1139b.15–17); δεῖ ἄρα τὸν σοφὸν μὴ μόνον τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχῶν εἰδέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀληθεύειν (*Eth. Nic.* 1141a.17–18).

In answer to the question why Ennius made this special use of *uerant* and did not use *uera dicunt*, we may say, at the outset, that he thus exactly conveys the idea behind the Greek ἀληθεύω (indeed, he was especially equipped to do this by virtue of what he himself termed his three "brains": Greek, Latin, and Oscan). Moreover, he is known to have created a number of first conjugation verbs, such as *aditare*, *augificare*, *bouare*, *carinare*, *cauponari*, *fodare*, *fossare*, *halitare*, *obuarare*, *opertare*, *tuditare*. It might also be suggested that Ennius, who is known to have been very sensitive to the use and values of sound, used *uerant* to alliterate with *uates*.

The reason why the verb *uero*, as an equivalent of *uerum dico*, was not adopted into Latin was that the *-are* verbs which were formed from adjectives are mainly factitive verbs<sup>5</sup> of the type *sanare*, *probare*, *sacrare*, *piare*, *foedare*, *publicare*, *altare*, *nouare*, all of which are verbs of doing, and not of saying.

Further, there is a class of verbs called "delocutive," a term introduced by E. Benveniste<sup>6</sup> to qualify verbs of the type *salutare*, meaning *salutem dicere*, where *salus* is a locution of speech, in the same way as *negare* derives from *nec*, so that the meaning is "to say *nec*," and *autumare* is another delocutive meaning "to say *autem*." *Verare* obviously does not fall under this category, so that we may say the reason for its not surviving in Latin is that it is neither factitive nor delocutive.

The value of the word subsists in its having been used, if only on one occasion, in the manner and in the context in which it was used.

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## NOTES

1. *Ennianae Poesis Reliquiae*<sup>2</sup> (Leipzig 1903) 69.
2. *Remains of Old Latin* I<sup>2</sup> (London 1956) 135, 137.
3. See G. Redard, *Recherches sur* *χρή, χρῆσθαι* (Paris 1953) 28-29.
4. "Vom ursprünglichen Sinn der aristotelischen Syllogistik," *Lexis*, II, 2 (p. 232). On p. 221 of the same study, Lohmann refers in particular to the aspect of truth brought up by Aristotle in *Met.* Θ.10. Lohmann's view matches that of W. Jaeger in his *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Metaphysik des Aristoteles* (Berlin 1912) 26-28.
5. See M. Leumann, "Schwer erkennbare griechische Wörter im Latein," *Die Sprache*, I (212).
6. "Les verbes délocutifs," *Studia Philologica et Litteraria in honorem L. Spitzer* (Bern 1958) 57-63.





## NOTES ON ENNIAN TRAGEDY

OTTO SKUTSCH

### I. PROLOGUES

IN the prologue of Plautus' *Amphitruo*, 41ff, Mercury declares that he has heard others, Neptune, Virtus, Victoria, Mars, and Bellona, in tragedies speak of the benefits which they had bestowed on their audience. We must infer (Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.* 212 n. 6) that Latin poets not infrequently added such prologues to their versions of Attic tragedies. The divine prologue figures of New Comedy and its Roman adaptations may in part account for this departure from Greek tragedy. It may conceivably have begun with *praetextatae*, although the number of these plays was too small to refer Mercury's remark exclusively to them (Leo, as above). It may also have served as a means of reconciling the audience to the wholly alien matter of Greek tragedy. In whatever way it arose, it is likely to have been used first, or at any rate to have suggested itself most readily, where the Greek original had a suitable divine prologue speaker. If with this reflection in mind we examine the list given by Mercury, we may feel inclined to connect the first name, Neptune, with the prologue of Euripides' *Troades*, the only one which we know to have been spoken by Poseidon:

Ἦκω λιπὼν Αἰγαιοῖον ἄλμυρον βάθος  
πόντου Ποσειδῶν . . .

The *Andromache* of Ennius, as shown by *scen.* 83f V. (Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 4.374 n. 2), was based on the *Troades*,<sup>1</sup> and it is perhaps not too bold to assume that Plautus' Mercury alludes to the prologue of that play. What then were the benefits which Neptune claimed to have bestowed on the Roman people? Some definite historical occasion is indicated rather than any general reference to the blessings of commerce and trade, which would fit comedy rather than a tragic prologue. The historical occasion, however, though it can hardly be in the remote past, need not be of immediate contemporary significance if Neptune as the speaker was introduced not so much because of the event itself as because he spoke the prologue of the *Troades*. The intervention of Neptune which must have been firmly fixed in the minds of

many spectators, and especially in that of Scipio, if we may imagine him in the audience, was that which Polybius reports (10.11.7 and 10.14.12): before the assault on Cartagena Scipio told his soldiers that Neptune, appearing to him in a dream, had advised him to attack and promised to assist him in the enterprise in a manner manifest to all. When the water ebbed out of the lagoon, enabling the soldiers to wade across and storm the city, they saw the promise fulfilled.<sup>2</sup>

The fall of Cartagena in 210 B.C. was the first summit in Scipio's vertiginous career. Ennius became the herald of his achievements in the *Scipio*, written presumably after the Antiochus campaign, and later in the *Annals*. The *Amphitruo* of Plautus may be dated around 190 B.C., and therefore the Neptune prologue, and with it the *Andromache*, between 195 and 191. It seems singularly fitting that Ennius should have paid tribute to his hero already at that earlier stage, and in the main literary medium then at his command. How great, one wonders, was his share in the creation of the Scipio legend?

If Plautus' Mercury is indeed speaking of Ennius' Neptune, the presumption that other names in his list belong to Ennius is strong. I have nothing to say about Virtus, Mars, and Bellona, except perhaps that Bellona might seem to fit best into a *praetextata*; but I would venture a guess about Victoria. We have, amongst the fragments of Ennius' *Alexander*, one which has so far refused to find a suitable place.<sup>3</sup> It is quoted by Festus 360 M. as an example of *taenia*: *Ennius in Alexandro: uolans de caelo cum corona et taeniis*. The divine figure whose descent from heaven is here described can hardly be other than Victoria. But who would be witness to that descent? If it is more than a mere figure of speech the speaker must be the goddess herself, and the resemblance of Poseidon's ἦκω λιπών, etc., just quoted, very strongly supports this assumption:

Volans de caelo cum corona et taeniis  
<uenio . . . Victoria>.

It has not so far been possible to ascertain who spoke the prologue of the *Alexander*, of which a piece of twelve lines in the version of Ennius is preserved by Cicero, *De diuinatione* 1.42 (B. Snell, *Hermes, Einzelschr.* 5 [1937] 26f; F. Scheidweiler, *Philologus* 97 [1948], 321f; J. O. de G. Hanson, *Hermes* 92 [1964] 171f; T. C. W. Stinton, *Euripides and the Judgement of Paris* [London 1965] 64ff).<sup>4</sup> Snell, after others,

thinks that the speaker must have been Cassandra, mainly, I believe, because Hecuba and Priam are referred to as *mater* and *pater*. The argument is strong but not conclusive, since they may be so called as parents not only of the child about to be born at the time of which the prologue speaks but of the hero whom the speaker has come to crown, and who therefore may have been mentioned before the narrative goes into the past (so Ribbeck [see n. 3] 83).<sup>5</sup> Against Cassandra it has been wrongly argued that she cannot be lucid here when in the play she is possessed. She does in fact seem to have been perfectly rational in the earlier part of the play (*ubi illa sapiens paullo ante*, etc.; see below, p. 133). The point is rather that in the play she struggles under the power of the god with images of the truth, clearly perceived but only dimly understood, and this agony cannot be convincing after she has given a wholly rational account in the prologue. The question "But what can Aphrodite reveal of the antecedents that the prophetic skill of Cassandra cannot?" sounds like an argument about historical sources rather than about poetry. Hartung's view that the speaker was Venus is probable in itself but not compelling, and if it were correct that Venus intervened later in the play (Scheidweiler, 321), as she does on the Etruscan urns interpreted by Brunn (*Urne Etrusche* I 1-34), she would have to be excluded here. The assumption of W. Schmid (*Gesch. d. griech. Lit.* I 3.476 n.) that the speaker was a subordinate character was made *faute de mieux*, and Ennius now gives us a better clue. The words with which the goddess introduces herself could hardly be spoken if she appeared, as Aphrodite is supposed to do, near the end of the play. Paris by then had already been crowned, and benefits bestowed on the Roman people could not be mentioned at that point. If there is anything in the testimony of Plautus, we have here the first line of the prologue spoken by Victoria. This is not to say that the Euripidean prologue was spoken by Nike, who would be somewhat isolated among the Olympian gods of Euripides. It is conceivable that Ennius substituted Victoria for the original speaker. We do not know whether he did, and speculation why he might have done so is therefore idle. But whether or not Victoria is a latinized Nike, when Cato in 193 B.C. founded the shrine of *Victoria Virgo* the poet perhaps had not yet wholly broken with the man who brought him to Rome in 204 B.C. (the break was complete after the Aetolian campaign of 189 when Cato attacked Fulvius for having taken poets with him into the field), and Cato's successes in Spain in commemoration of which the shrine was built may well have been the benefits of which Victoria spoke in the prologue.

In the *Eunuch* of Terence the young lover, who in his disreputable

disguise has entered the house of his girl and attained his wish, reports that, while waiting there, he saw a picture showing Jupiter's approach to Danae and felt greatly cheered at the thought that a god had played a similar game before him (586ff):

et quia consimilem luserat  
iam olim ille ludum, impendio magis animus gaudebat mihi,  
deum sese in hominem conuortisse atque in alienas tegulas  
uenisse clanculum per impluuium fucum factum mulieri.

The next line, 590, picks up *deum*:

at quem deum! qui templa caeli summa sonitu concutit:  
ego homuncio id non facerem?

Donatus' comment on 590 runs: *qui templa caeli summa sonitu concutit: ab auctoritate personae ut fit in exemplis. sonitu concutit: parodia de Ennio. templa caeli s.: tragice, sed de industria non errore.* Most editors accept *qui . . . concutit*, i.e., an iambic senarius, as a quotation from Ennius. Vahlen, however, remarks that Donatus' words leave some doubt as to whether Ennius is quoted very accurately. An even more negative view is taken by H. Haffter, *Untersuch. z. lat. Dichtersprache* (1934), 21 n. 6: according to him only *sonitu concutit* is taken from Ennius, and we must on no account infer from Donatus that the quotation began with *qui*. This scepticism seems to me exaggerated. It is true that Donatus does not guarantee Ennian origin for more than the last two words. On the other hand, there is nothing in the comment of the scholia which would forbid us to attribute the whole relative clause to Ennius. Neither the fact that the lemma to the scholion *parodia de Ennio* consists of *sonitu concutit* only, nor the subsequent rather vague statement *tragice* under the lemma *templa caeli s.* is of any significance. Whether or not one accepts the view of Wessner and Lindsay that our text of Donatus is a collection of interlinear and marginal scholia compiled in the sixth century, it is certainly true that not every scholion refers precisely to the lemma to which it has become attached; and the formal contradiction between *de Ennio* and *tragice* is one of hundreds of this kind which prove that many scholia do not belong to Donatus. H. T. Karsten, in his attempt to separate the genuine Donatus from the spurious, lists this as one of more than sixty such discrepant additions from the *Eunuchus* alone (*Commenti Donatiani . . . scholia genuina et spuria* [Leiden 1912-13] vol. I p. XX n. 1). Donatus, then, neither guarantees that the whole line belongs to Ennius, nor does he suggest



the contrary. The matter can be decided, if at all, only on the basis of intrinsic probability, and here, I believe, the scales incline towards genuineness of the whole senarius. What sort of *parodia* is the citing of two not very characteristic words? None at all, unless the setting is the same; and in this setting what was the object of *concutit* if not *templa caeli*, a phrase which Ennius uses elsewhere (*Ann.* 49; *scen.* 196 *caelitum*)? The alliteration *summa sonitu* further indicates that these words stood together in the original text.<sup>6</sup> In fact, I feel fairly confident that even *qui* forms part of the quotation: not only because it is the most natural syllable to complete the line; one also has the feeling — obviously it cannot be more — that, when after the accusative in the exclamatory question, conforming with the preceding indirect report, we go straight into the relative clause without any preliminary *nempe eum*, this very abruptness is due to the fact that the quotation begins at this point.

If we consider *qui* Ennian and thus find here a description, not of an individual action of Jupiter's but of his nature as *ὑψιβρεμέτης*, we seem to have determined the position of our line. The resemblance of

Qui templa caeli summa sonitu concutit

to Plaut. *Rud.* 1

Qui gentes omnes mariaque et terras mouet

is so close that in my opinion we need not hesitate to assume that it is the first line of a prologue. We may perhaps add that so prominent a line would stand a better chance than any other to come to mind when, as in the *Eunuch*, the majesty of Jupiter was to be proclaimed.

Can we perhaps identify the prologue which began with this line? If *qui* were not part of it and the words could thus refer to a definite action in the play, we might suspect (see below on Strzelecki) that they refer to the raising of the thunderstorm which extinguished the pyre lit for Alcmene in Euripides' play of that name. But in the prologue too of that play there was good reason why Jupiter should be mentioned. The arm of coincidence is long. But can it be so long as to place in the very first scene of the play whose opening bore so close a resemblance to our presumed prologue line, the famous and controversial reference to Euripides' *Alcmene* (*Rud.* 84),

non uentus fuit uerum Alcumena Euripidi?

We may certainly rule out the possibility that an accident could have brought a Plautine mention of the Euripidean play as translated by

Ennius into this close contact with a Diphilean prologue line imitating and varying Euripides. Therefore, if the resemblance between *Rud.* 1 and our line is not accidental, the following alternatives present themselves: (1) both *Rud.* 1 and the mention of Euripides' *Alcmene* belong to Diphilus. This is the view taken of the two lines separately by F. Marx in his commentary. If so, we have no evidence that the *Alcmene* was translated by Ennius, and the play to which our line belonged cannot be identified. (2) With *Alcumena Euripidi* Plautus refers to an Ennian translation of the *Alcmene*. If so, though the prologue of the *Rudens* as a whole of course belongs to Diphilus, the first line was shaped by Plautus with the prologue of Ennius' *Alcumena* in mind. Most scholars now take the view that Plautus means a translation of the *Alcmene* by Ennius; see especially E. Fraenkel, *Elementi Plautini* (1960) 64 and 403, and also, e.g., W. B. Sedgwick, *Plautus, Amphitruo* (Manch. Univ. Press, 1960) 1. I accept this view, which, from what was said above, means that the line quoted by Terence opened the prologue of the *Alcumena*.

Perhaps the relationship between the two lines can explain a feature of *Rud.* 1, which seems a little surprising: along with *gentes mariaque et terras* we expect *caelum* to be mentioned.<sup>7</sup> Marx, though he adduced some remote parallels for its absence, preferred to ascribe it to clumsiness on the part of the translator, a notion which few scholars will entertain. We must, I believe, now consider the possibility that Plautus, in varying the Ennian line, deliberately omitted the *templa caeli*.

There is possibly a further indication of the origin of our line in the passage where it is quoted. The reflection of the young man, *deum sese in hominem conuortisse atque in alienas tegulas uenisse clanculum*, etc., has always puzzled scholars because Jupiter descended as a rain of gold but did not assume the disguise of a man, and some editors therefore wrote *in imbrem* or *in aurum* or *in pretium*. Nowadays *in hominem* is retained, on the assumption, I take it, that the picture showed the golden rain descending while Jupiter (without divine attributes?) was standing on the roof. That is the explanation given by Donatus.<sup>7a</sup> Professor Strzelecki, however, some time ago suggested to me that Chaerea, after mentioning the picture, introduced, with *et quia consimilem luserat iam olim ille ludum*, another fraud of Jupiter's, namely his deception of Alcumena. Therefore, he argued, the subsequent quotation should be assigned to Ennius' *Alcumena*. My reply was that *et quia consimilem luserat iam olim ille ludum* must refer to the fraud shown in the picture, and that in any case Jupiter as Amphitruo did not enter through the *impluuium*. My own conclusion that the quotation was the

first line of a prologue was formed long before I discussed the passage with Professor Strzelecki, and my reason for assigning it to the *Alcumena* is different from his. But he was the first so to assign it, and a modification of his suggestion may help to anchor the fragment there. It seems to me that the quotation from the *Alcumena* could have influenced the poet's mind to such an extent that he spoke of the god's turning into a man although in the context of the Danae story that detail made little or no sense.

## II. RHETORIC

Ennius was familiar with the theory and all the technical devices of rhetoric. Evidence of this familiarity is found both in the *Annals* and in the tragedies (F. Skutsch, *RE* 5.2626f). The speeches of the *Annals*, however, do not employ these devices to a very marked degree. They are characterized rather by their directness and their succinct and powerful formulations, such as the justly famous *moribus antiquis res stat Romana uirisque*. It is probable, as I have stated elsewhere,<sup>8</sup> that Ennius made the heroes of his epic speak the language which was spoken by the great Romans of his day. When he makes a Roman leader say (391f)

nunc est ille dies quom gloria maxima sese  
nobis ostentat,<sup>9</sup> si uiuimus siue morimur,

we can trace the same form of speech in Caesar's address to his soldiers (Lucan 7.254 *haec est illa dies quam . . .*) and, more significantly perhaps because in prose, in Germanicus' appeal (Tac. *Ann.* 1.51.7 *hoc illud tempus oblitteandae seditionis*).<sup>10</sup> In the speeches of the tragedies, on the other hand, Ennius uses all the bottles of Demosthenes. It is not the purpose of this paper to pursue his practice systematically. My object is rather to show that careful attention to the poet's very elaborate designs and an open ear for the sound effects intended by him can help us to restore to their original form lines which have been disfigured in transmission. The critical categories thus to be applied are to some extent subjective and must not be made the sole basis of any textual operation, but they add considerable weight to the more objective criteria of sense, language, and meter.

The quarrel between Agamemnon and Menelaus in Ennius' *Iphigenia* has no precise counterpart in the Euripidean play. It illustrates

very strikingly the freedom with which Ennius adapts his original, and is rightly considered to provide the most impressive example of his rhetorical polish and artifice (225 V.):

ego proiector quod tu peccas: tu delinquas, ego arguor?  
 pro malefactis Helena redeat, uirgo pereat innocens?  
 tua reconcilietur uxor, mea necetur filia?

In each of the three lines the second half corresponds to the first, the relation between the two half-lines varying from line to line. In the third the contrasted cola are arranged in identical order: the emphasized pronoun precedes, and the subsequent homoeoptoton stresses the parallelism. In the second line *pro malefactis* and *innocens* are arranged chiasmically, the contrast between the two verbs being marked here most impressively by the figure *redeat . . . pereat*. In the first line we have two contrasting pairs of sentences, varied by the reversal of the subjects in the second pair. In the first pair the verbs are linked by alliteration, whilst the second one has no corresponding feature, a fact perhaps a little surprising in view of the painstaking care lavished by the poet on these lines.

It must, however, be taken into account that the line has suffered corruption, since in the form in which it is given in the *editio princeps*<sup>11</sup> and printed above it does not scan. Stephanus tried to remove the fault by substituting *delinquis* for *delinquas*, and most editors follow him; but whereas such a "correction" may have seemed acceptable before the law of the "split anapaest" was known, nowadays it is wholly impossible to introduce such a monstrosity by conjecture.<sup>12</sup> We have not the slightest reason to assume that Ennius' metrical technique in iambs and trochees was laxer than that of Plautus. On the contrary, in some respects, as in the avoidance of hiatus in the diaeresis of the trochaic septenarius, it was stricter. Vahlen's defence of the split anapaest would therefore fail to convince even if it were transmitted. But the defence in any case is weak. Vahlen sets great store by the alleged parallel of 309,

ut quod factum est futtile, amici, uos feratis fortiter.

He ought perhaps to have observed that *amici* is not an address ever used in, or suitable to, tragedy,<sup>13</sup> but he should certainly have mentioned Buecheler's inescapable correction of *amici* to *a me*. After what was said before about the rhetorical arrangement of 225ff, it need hardly be pointed out that between the alliterating phrases *factum est futtile* and *feratis fortiter* the strongly emphatic *uos* enforces the contrast of



a me. Paleographically Buecheler's correction can be eased by the insertion of *id*:

ut quod factum est futils *ameid* (hence *ameici*) uos feratis fortiter.

We need hardly dwell on 12 and 279; on the former see Timpanaro, *SIFC* 23 (1948) 7f, on the latter my own comment, *Rh. Mus.* 96 (1953) 197. There remains only 54f,

sed quid oculis rabere uisa est derepente ardentibus?  
ubi illa paulo ante sapiens uirginalis modestia?

Here *uirginali' modestia* is supposed to offer an example of split anapaest; but the line is obviously corrupt. Vahlen believed, with Lachmann, that *aut* should be added before *ubi*. He seems to have considered *illa* a pyrrhic, a view which nowadays needs no refutation. In his first edition he had written *ubi illa <tua>*, but he later rightly saw that Hecuba is here not addressing but observing Cassandra. I do not know for certain how the line is to be restored; but, if the first half is one syllable short and the second too long by one syllable, one fault ought to compensate for the other; i.e., we must either transpose (a rather violent operation: e.g., *sapiens illa uirginalis paulo ante ubi modestia*), or the letters which make the required cretic *uirgini* into the double trochee *uirginali'* and thus ruin the meter must be a remnant of the word lost in the first half. The dative *uirgini* (and let it not be forgotten that *uirginali* not *uirginalis* is transmitted) would require *apta*:

ubi illa paulo ante <apta> sapiens uirgini modestia.

*Apta* would have been omitted by haplography<sup>14</sup> and added above *uirgini*. A slight point in favor of the more violent transposition may be seen in the fact that *sapiens*, clearly in emphatic contrast to *rabere*, would thus obtain the leading position. It is, incidentally, a revealing indication of Vahlen's hyperconservatism (see *CQ* n.s. 13 [1963] 96ff) that he overlooked the contrast between *sapiens* and *rabere* in order to be able to retain the transmitted reading *rapere*. *Rapere* is altogether wrong and senseless. Why should Cassandra be said quickly to snatch a sight about to disappear, which is the sense of the line compared by Vahlen, *trag. inc.* 48 R.<sup>3</sup>: *oculis postremum lumen radiatum rape*? The point surely is that she is suddenly seized with madness. *Oculi ardent* are a symptom of madness, e.g., in Plaut. *Capt.* 594 *ardent oculi*; *Men.* 829 *oculi scintillant*. As a symptom of madness they are mentioned here; and this function would be intolerably weakened if they were used instrumentally with *rapere*, rather than descriptively with *rabere*.<sup>15</sup>



We now return to line 225: *delinquis*, as we saw, must not be introduced by conjecture since it does not remove the metrical fault. *Delinquas* is therefore *prima facie* blameless and thus indicates the seat of the corruption: the fault must be in *arguor*, which not only, as noticed above, fails to alliterate but also is in the wrong mood. For clearly it is the mood of *arguor*, not that of *delinquas*, which is wrong. There is, as pointed out above, a certain parallelism between the two halves of the line, but there is also a difference which, from the formal point of view, is fundamental: the first half uses subordination, the second consists of two contrasted independent sentences. This feature links *tu delinquas ego arguor* far more closely to the following subjunctival questions than to the first half, and the issue is clinched by the fact that in all three questions the sequence is "you . . . I," not "I . . . you" as in the expository statement at the beginning.

We shall therefore have to look for a verb in the subjunctive which fits the sense, mends the meter, and gives us the alliteration which we found to be missing; and we shall have to explain why that verb was replaced by *arguor*. Sense, meter, and alliteration demand *luam*, contrasted with *delinquas* as in Hor. C. 3.6.1, *delicta maiorum immeritus lues*, and it is the mood of *arguor* which shows how it intruded: it was a gloss on the mysterious *proiector*. Apparently *proiector* exercised ancient commentators no less than modern scholars. R. Frobenius, *Syntax d. Ennius* (1910) p. 81, explained it as a Grecism based on ἐπιτιμῶμαι, and distinguished syntacticians such as W. Kroll, *Studien* p. 249, I. B. Hofmann, *Synt.* p. 377, and E. Löfstedt, *Syntact.* 2.412, accepted this view. I suspect that Frobenius' explanation was inspired by German *vorwerfen* rather than by any Latin idiom. S. Timpanaro, *Maia* 3 (1950) 27f, correctly points out that *proicere* never has the meaning of *obicere*. Whatever the precise meaning of *proiector*,<sup>16</sup> it would seem to have called for comment, and the gloss *arguor*, which more or less renders the sense, wandered into the margin and expelled the final verb. Thus the line must have run:

ego *proiector* quod tu *peccas*: tu *delinquas*, ego *luam*?

Macrobius 6.2.21 cites from Ennius' *Cresphontes* (131-32 V.): *neque terram inicere neque cruenta conuestire mihi corpora licuit neque miserae lauere lacrimae salsum sanguinem*. Bothe restored meter by making *corpora* and *mihi*, which obviously must not stand between *conuestire*

and *corpora*, exchange places. Transferred to the beginning of the second octonarius *mihi* supplies the metrical deficiency there:

*mihi licuit neque miserae lāuēre lacrumae salsum sanguinem.*

Abandoning Bothe's easy and economical remedy I propose to delete rather than transfer *mihi*, and to add another word in the second line:

*licuit neque miserae lāuēre lacrumae <latice> salsum sanguinem.*

The reasons persuading me to do so are: (1) Rhetoric demands that the elaborate *hysteron proteron* "to cover with earth, to clothe the bodies, and wash away with tears the salt blood" should consist of parallel infinitives and not be rounded off by a finite verb (*lāuēre*). (2) The addition of *latice* (cf. Acc. *trag.* 666 *non calida latice lautus*) creates a triple alliteration, to correspond to *cruenta conuestire corpora*. (3) The omission of *mihi*,<sup>17</sup> by removing the personal element and generalizing the complaint,<sup>18</sup> adds to the sense of outrage and indignity. (4) The rhythm of *neque miserae lāuere* is as easy and natural as that of *néque miseraé lāuēre* is awkward. (5) The form *lāuēre* is not actually found in early Latin (*lauerunt* Plaut. *Rud.* 151). For the infinitive *lāuēre* see Enn. *scen.* 202 *lauere sanguen*; 311 *lauere lacrumis*; Acc. *trag.* 420 *lauere . . . lacrumis*; Afran. 322 *lauere lacrumis*; also Naev. *trag.* 6; Plaut. *Amph.* 1102; Lucr. 5.950. (6) The odds against the perfect ending *-ēre* appearing as a trochee, without elision, are about five to one. In Plautus *-er(e)* seems to occur 39 times, *-ere* 14 times, but a critical evaluation puts the relevant figures at *-er(e)* 37 times, *-ere* 8 times.<sup>19</sup> For Terence the figures are: *-er(e)* 21, *-ere* 4. The material for Ennius is much more limited. In the *Annals*, of course, the trochee was metrically welcome, and so we find it used six times in the fifth foot, and once (192, if we consider that line genuine: see CQ 56 [1963] 91ff) in the interior of the line (*egere* 135 and *eripuerē* 526 are uncertain conjectures); the final *-e* is elided in 213. In the Tragedies there is, apart from our line, no example of *-ere* in dialogue meter, as against two of *-er(e)*, 260, and 150, where Ribbeck, for reasons of sense, and with great probability, restores *dedere aequam* for *dedere quam*. Like Plautus, however, Ennius seems to admit the unelided form in bacchiacs: see 75, a line of which Dr. H. D. Jocelyn kindly reminds me.

Many of these observations provide no more than a slight indication in favor of *lāuēre* as opposed to *lāuēre*; but, taken in conjunction with the arguments from rhetoric, they seem to me more than to balance the fact that I have to assume two errors where Bothe assumed one.

A line of beautiful rhetorical structure, albeit marred by a minor fault, is quoted by Nonius from *Hectoris Lytra*, 185 V.:

constitit credo Scamander, arbores uento uacant.

The second hemistich recurs in a passage from the *Scipio* quoted by Macrobius, which I must write out in full (*Varia* 9ff V.):

mundus caeli uastus constitit silentio  
et Neptunus saeuos undis asperis pausam dedit,  
Sol equis iter repressit ungulis uolantibus,  
constitere amnes perennes, arbores uento uacant.

The alliterating phrase *uento uacant* is in the *Scipio* passage wholly isolated and thus clearly not used deliberately as an ornament. In line 185, on the other hand, we have a second alliteration, *constitit credo*, and in addition a structure far more elaborate than that in the *Scipio*. Whereas there the verbs only are arranged chiasmically, here we have an a-b-c : c-b-a figure, the subjects facing each other in the center, the remaining words being placed between verb and subject. To have an ideal and wholly symmetrical structure we should, instead of *credo*, expect an ablative going with *constitit* as *uento* goes with *uacant*, an arrangement which would at the same time make the alliteration more sensible. As the line stands it might almost seem as though *credo* were inserted in order to achieve, no matter how, that ornament. We should not try, for formal reasons alone, to impose upon the poet a perfection which was probably but not necessarily his aim. We must, however, impose it if what we read is deficient also in sense. There is, although one scholar only seems to have observed it, a deficiency in *credo*. It cannot, as it often is when inserted, be ironical: the second half of the line, not to speak of the subject of the play, rule out this sense. It must therefore mean "I believe" and thus give a subjective note to the statement. But who would speak in this feeble fashion? Sosia in the *Amphitruo*, 272, may say: *credo ego hac noctu Nocturnum obdormiuisse ebrium*. That is speculation about the cause of the phenomena he observes; the phenomena themselves are stated firmly as facts: *ita statim stant signa*, etc. Lucian Mueller, so hated in Germany that nobody would accept from him what was not absolutely inescapable (Ribbeck would not even mention his name: *Trag. frag.*<sup>3</sup>, p. VII), felt the stylistic offence and wrote *cerno*, which does not help matters much and is impossible *per se* because *cerno* is never used parenthetically. If we alter, and alter we must, we should take into account the demands of the rhetorical

structure which I have described, and the only reading which will satisfy them is:

constitit cursu Scamander, arbores uento uacant.

The ablative *cursu* would be similar to that of *uento*, Virg. *Georg.* 4.484 *uento rota constit orbis*; cf. *Buc.* 2.26 *placidum uentis staret mare*. Separative in origin (Livy 10.36.11 *constitisset a fuga Romana acies*) it would have parallels in *scen.* 220 V. *cantu plausuque premunt alas*, and in (*Sol equis iter*) *repressit ungulis uolantibus* in the *Scipio* passage quoted above, which is clearly related. As in the lines compared, however, an instrumental connotation arising from the opposite notion (*fertur cursu, mouetur uento, iter faciunt ungulis uolantibus*) cannot be ruled out.

The trimeters of Medea's speech, Euripides *Med.* 214ff, were translated by Ennius in trochaic *octonarii* and *septenarii*. The change in the metrical form is not accidental: it accompanies and symbolizes an intensification of the emotional content in the appeal of homeless Medea to the noble women of Corinth, and was probably to some extent conditioned by the poet's personal interest in the problem of living an honored and useful life far from one's native home; see *Navic. Chilon.* (Leiden 1956) 107f. At line 230 Euripides, after Medea's outburst in 229 *κάκιστος ἀνδρῶν ἐκβέβηχ' οὐμὸς πόσις*, changes over to a didactic exposition of the unhappiness of women's lives. I consider it very probable that from that point the Ennian version continued in *senarii*. The translation of 25of,

ὥς τρὶς ἂν παρ' ἀσπίδα  
στῆναι θέλοιμ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ τεκεῖν ἑπαξ,

is preserved by Varro, *LL* 6.81, and quoted twice, once from Varro's *Gerontodidascalos*, and once from a different source, by Nonius 261.7 and 18. The fragment is generally presented thus:

— ∪ — nam ter sub armis malim uitam cernere  
quám semél modo párrere.

This is not a very probable arrangement. The *sententia* loses much of its effectiveness by thus beginning in the interior of one line and ending in the interior of the next one, ending there, to make matters worse, at a point which is not marked by a significant stop. In my opinion the poet wrote

nam tér sub armis malim uitam cernere  
quam sérnél modó parire,



the *sententia* thus filling one whole line, and the following one up to the *caesura*, with the contrasted numerals occupying the first rise in each line.

A potential obstacle to the proposed scansion must be briefly mentioned. Varro in the *Gerontodidascalos* introduces the fragment (omitting *nam*, as he does in *LL* 6.81) with the words: *non uides apud (Ennium add. Aldina) esse scriptum*. Ribbeck found in these words the end of a septenarius and the beginning of the line which ends in *cernere*. If this is correct Varro certainly scanned *quam semel modo parere* as trochees, and it would be difficult to avoid the conclusion that Ennius did the same. To avoid it we should have to assume that Varro altered the colometry and the form of the infinitive in order to elude the shortening *semel modo* (see below). But we need hardly resort to this assumption. Neither the style nor the matter of Varro's remark suggests meter, and whereas I frequently find poetry quoted by him in a prose context<sup>20</sup> I know no example of a quotation in a metrical context. Buecheler, Vahlen, and Lindsay must therefore be right in disregarding Ribbeck's idea and treating Varro's words as prose.

More serious is the difficulty that *modo* (adv.) very rarely makes an iamb (Lindsay, *Early Latin Verse* 36f). In Plautus, outside song meter, it does so hardly ever (*Pseud.* 689), in Terence (*Hec.* 830 ??) apparently never. Where, as here, *modo* is the second part of a cretic or fourth-paeonic group the final letter is generally elided. There are about twelve exceptions in Plautine dialogue meter, and invariably they show the exceptional *modō* followed by a syntactical pause, or by a change of speaker, or in the *loci Jacobsohniani*. However, perhaps owing to greater solemnity of diction in tragedy, Ennius seems in such groups to have admitted the old-fashioned prosody: in *scen.* 290 he has *ego tibi dico ét*, whereas Plautus admits iambic *tibi* only in the *loci Jacobsohniani*, or where the pronoun is emphasized (*Mnemosyne* ser. 4, 13 [1960] 231f). The example could be removed by breaking the line after *tibi*, or by substituting *indico*, but it seems to receive support from, and lend support to, *semel modō*.

It might further be objected that the archaic form *parire*, liable though it was to be replaced by *parere*, is not likely to have been so replaced three times over. We may compare *Ann.* 10 *oua parire solet*, where the MS of Varro, *LL* 5.57, offers *parere*, while Diomedes and Priscian have *parire*. The two later grammarians, however, are expressly concerned with the form *parire*: is it too bold to assume that, if it were not so, their manuscripts too would offer *parere*? However that may be, that Ennius in the *Medea* wrote *parire* and set out his *sententia* as



befitted a man who had a sense of rhetoric is proved by the only other occurrence of that infinitive (Plaut. *Vid.* 116),

nam audiui feminam ego leonem sémel parire.

Here, as in Ennius, the infinitive is preceded by an emphatic *semel*, reduced to a pyrrhic by iambic shortening.

A parallel for the change from septenarii to senarii within one and the same speech is offered by *scen.* 274f, *non commemoro quod draconis*, etc., and 276f, *quo nunc me uortam*, etc., the former rendering Eur. *Med.* 478ff, the latter 502ff. Verse 274 can now confidently be assigned to Ennius. In a seminar in 1955 Mr. (now Professor) R. Browning pointed out that ascription to Accius was ruled out by the form *draconis*: Accius would have written *dracontis* (*trag.* 570; 596). The same point was made in an excellent paper by S. Boscherini, *SIFC* 30 (1958) 106ff, esp. 110f, who adduces further evidence in support of Ennian origin. If anything was missing from his proof it was a direct parallel for the transition from trochees to iambs in a speech translating Greek trimeters: <sup>21</sup> that parallel is now available, and it belongs to the same play.

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## NOTES

1. Compare also *arce et urbe orba sum* (*scen.* 88) with ἐρημόπολις (*Troad.* 603). Add 97ff = *Troad.* 479ff (O. Schönberger, *Hermes* 84 [1956] 255f). Ribbeck, *Die röm. Tragödie*, p. 86, thinks the *Troades* cannot have been the exclusive original since it does not contain the etymology of the name Andromache (Ennius *scen.* 105, as quoted by Varro). Leo, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.*, 189 n.2, is sceptical because Varro strictly speaking attests only the etymology and not the play as Euripidean. The etymology may well have been transferred from some other play into the *Troades* by Ennius.

2. I am indebted to my friend Professor F. W. Walbank who, when asked what the occasion might have been, immediately referred me to Polybius. That an Ennian Neptune, in claiming gratitude for blessings bestowed, must have mentioned this particular incident would seem to follow from the inconceivability of the opposite.

3. Ribbeck prints it as *fr.* I (Enn. *trag.* 33) although he connects it (*Röm. Trag.* 86) with a conjectural appearance of Amor near the end of the play.

4. That it belongs to Ennius' *Alexander* should, especially after Snell's remarks, p. 22, no longer be doubted.

5. The addition of *rex ipse Priamus* to *pater* can hardly be used as an argument in favor of taking *pater* as "the father" rather than "my father." In the interest of his audience Ennius tends to use explanatory expansion, as when in the *Medea* prologue (252) he translates Πελίᾱ by *imperio regis Peliae*.

6. I do not know why Terence-Ennius did not write *summo*, as St. Augustine does in-quoting Terence (*De ciuitate Dei* 2.7; *Conf.* 1.16); cf. Enn. *scen.* 11

*saewo*; Acc. *trag.* 392 *ingenti*; and, in different contexts, Enn. *Ann.* 140 *terribili*; 277 *summo*; 485 *magno*. If it was because he thought of him as *ὀψιβρεμέτης* (cf. *Ann.* 541 *contremuit templum magnum Iouis altitonantis*, and *Lucr.* 6.387f) this would support the idea that we have here a generic statement; see below.

7. Compare, e.g., Enn. *Ann.* 542f *qui fulmine claro omnia per sonitus arcet, terram, mare, caelum*; *scen.* 285 *quique tuo cum lumine mare terram caelum contines*, with Vahlen *ad loc.*

7a. E. Fraenkel, *Gnomon* 36 (1964) 779, points out that 585 *Iouem . . . Danaae misisse in gremium imbrem aureum* rules out *aurum*, *imbrem* and *pretium* as substitutes for *hominem*. Note also that *in aliennas tegulas* seems to go with *uenisse, per impluuium* with *fucum factum*. I am not, however, convinced by Fraenkel's theory that Terence has altered the original and makes Jupiter behave like *römische Spitzbuben*. The fact that the *impluuium* is Roman proves nothing since the story itself presupposes access through the roof, and the difference between *impluuium* and *peristyle* is minimal in this context. On Greek and Roman houses see now particularly J. W. Graham, *Phoenix* 20 (1966) 3-31.

8. *Proceedings of the Classical Association*, London, 46 (1949) 27.

9. Though it has less manuscript support, *ostentat* is clearly preferable to *ostendat* (Vahlen, Warmington) or *ostendit* (Mueller, Valmaggi). The generic subjunctive enfeebles the statement and is practically senseless: glory is, and must be said to be, actually beckoning now; only the winning of it could be said to be contingent. *Ostendit* is in the correct mood but fails to account for the variants *ostendat* and *ostentat*. The decisions of the editors are all the more difficult to understand as *sese ostentat* occurs also in *Ann.* 430. A. Dittmar, *Studien z. lat. Moduslehre* (Leipzig 1897) 136, fails satisfactorily to classify or parallel the subjunctive and is aware of neither the indicational variants nor the specific sense of the passage.

10. See also Livy 5.12.8 *cum tribuni plebei nunc illud tempus esse dicerent stabiliendae libertatis*. Ennius would probably have used *hic* instead of *nunc*, if the prosody of *hic* nom. masc., which is short in early Latin, had permitted him to do so. Cf. *Plaut. Capt.* 516 *nunc illud est cum . . .* but 518 *hic ille est dies cum . . .* and again *Pers.* 725 *nunc est illa occasio*. *Nunc* seems more commonplace, whilst the juxtaposition of the pronouns has a solemn ring in *Virg. Aen.* 7.255 *hunc illum . . . generum*; *Tib.* 1.3.93 *hunc illum . . . luciferum*; *Mart.* 7.21.1 *haec est illa dies quam . . .*

11. Froben's Basle edition of the *Rhetorici*, 1521. The *codex Spirensis* of Rhenanus, on which it was based, is lost.

12. The scansion *tu delinquas, ego arguor*, proposed by A. Klotz, need hardly be considered. A tribrach word at the male line ending, never found in Plautus, occurs a few times in Terence (see my *Gesetze f. Iambenkürzung* (1934) 65 n.; H. Drexler, *Boll. Accad. Linc.* 13 (1964) 7f). But since *arguor* here is in emphatic contrast to *delinquas* it cannot be turned into a tribrach.

13. *Pacuv. trag.* 80 *ciues, antiqui amici maiorum meum, consilium socii*, etc., is clearly in a different category. In Greek tragedy φίλοι can be addressed to the chorus, or by a woman to the members of the household.

14. The resemblance of *ante* and *apta* has caused a corruption in Propertius (1.8.36):

. . . maluit esse mea  
quam sibi dotatae regnum uetus Hippodamiae  
et quas Elis opes ante pararat equis.

*Ante* is difficult, and the commentaries sound embarrassed. The correct reading apparently is *apta*. See Hor. C.1.7.9 *aptum dicet equis Argos*, and *Epist.* 1.7.41 *non est aptus equis Ithace locus*. The model is *ἰππόβοτος* or *ἰπποτρόφος*. *Epist.* 1.7.41 follows Homer *Od.* 4.601ff, where in 606 Ithaca is described as *αἰγίβοτος καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπήρατος ἰπποβότοιο*. I consider this emendation certain but cannot claim it as my own. In R. W. Smyth's *Index coniecturarum* to Propertius, a work unhappily still unpublished but through the author's kindness at my disposal, I find "*apta nescioquis (Phillimore?)*," meaning, as Mr. Smyth explains, that it is written in Phillimore's hand in a text once owned by him.

15. On the confusion of *rapidus* and *rabidus*, *rapio* and *rabio* see N. Heinsius, on Sil. 3.312; Drakenborch, on Sil. 3.312; 5.451; 6.256; 7.253; Gronov, on Sen. *Thyest.* 361; Broekhuis, on Prop. 3.19.10; Housman, on Lucan 10.446; Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana*, p. 317; G. P. Goold, *Phoenix* 13 (1959) 109.

16. Timpanaro may be right in assuming that the idea is that of a scapegoat: "*io sono messo innanzi come capro espiatorio, sono esposto al biasimo pubblico a causa delle tue colpe*"; or in suggesting, as he now does in a letter, that Agamemnon is said to be sacrificed in the interest of Menelaus; cf. Cat. 64.82 *ipse suum Theseus pro caris corpus Athenis proicere optavit*. The latter, in fact, is the proper scapegoat idea; see Servius, *Aen.* 3.57, on the scapegoat: *et sic proiciebatur*. Perhaps the title of the Naevian play *Proiectus* does not mean "The Abandoned Child" but "The Scapegoat." Otherwise it would seem an extraordinary coincidence that one of the two extant fragments reads (supplements tentative):

〈— ∞ — quod〉 populus patitur tu patias 〈potissimum〉.

17. *Mihi* could hardly stand alone: Gerh. Vossius wrote *licuit mihi miserae*, and Bentley approved it (Cicero, *Tusc.* ed. Davis [1738] App. p. 8). Either this or *miserae mihi licuit* would be acceptable if it were not for *lāuēre*. Bentley also approved Vossius' *lacrimis salsis*, with the strange remark that blood was not salt. It is, and is often so called. But in the light of Acc. *trag.* 578 *salsis cruorem guttis lacrimarum lauuit* the possibility of *latice salso* cannot be ruled out. For the attribute, and the number, of *lacrima* compare *οἰκτρὸν δάκρυ* Eurip. *Suppl.* 49 and 96.

18. Compare for a similar observation *Mnemosyne* ser. 4, 13 (1960) 231.

19. *Men.* 1151, where *P* has *-erunt* as against *A*'s *-ere*, must be discounted. In *Capt.* 824 *fecere sibi Aetoli* the transposition *Aetoli sibi* (Guyet) not only restores the normal form but also abolishes a strange hiatus. In *Epid.* 474 *etiam fides | ei quae accessere tibi addam dono gratiis* the transposition *addam tibi* (Enger) not only restores the normal form but also removes the unemphasized pronoun from the beginning of the colon and places it in the expected enclitic position. The score now stands at 39 to 11. Three of the eleven examples of *-ere* are found in bacchiacs (1) or the second half of the iambic septenarius (2) and may thus be said to enjoy a metrical privilege (Havet). Correspondingly deduct two examples of *-er(e)*, and the score is 37 to 8. Note also that no fewer than four of the eight examples of *-ere* are instances of *fuere*.

The predominance of *-er(e)* over *-ere* was first observed (and greatly exaggerated) by L. Havet, *Rev. Phil.* 31 (1907) 230ff. The figures given here are, with the modifications stated, taken from C. F. Bauer, *The Latin Perfect Endings -ere and -erunt* (Pennsylv. 1933) 15ff. See also D. W. Pye, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, Oxford (1963), 1ff.

20. 40; 41; 59; 103; 142; 253; 254; 359; 417; 509; 521; 522; 542.

21. Whereas trochees often render Greek trimeters or lyric meter, the senarius renders trimeters only. *Iphig.* 245, *Acherontem obibo ubi Mortis thesauri obiacent*, usually printed as a statement, is equated by G. Hermann with 1375 *κατθανεῖν μὲν μοι δέδοκται*, by Columna with 1503 *θανοῦσα δ' οὐκ ἀναίνομαι*, and by Vahlen with 1507 *ἕτερον ἕτερον αἰῶνα καὶ μοῖραν οἰκήσομεν*. The first passage is in trochees, the other two in lyric meter. In the seminar mentioned above Miss M. L. Cunningham made the excellent suggestion that the line should be equated with 1219 *τὰ δ' ὑπὸ γῆς μὴ μ' ἰδεῖν ἀναγκάσης*. Here the meter corresponds, *τὰ ὑπὸ γῆς* is enlarged to *Mortis thesauri*, and the negative wish is transformed into a pathetic question. It is therefore unnecessary to assume, with Leo (*Kl. Schr.* 1.211 = *de trag. Rom.* [Gött. 1910] 21), that our line is incomplete (unlike Plautus' *Accheruns*, Ennius' *Acheron* has a short first syllable; cf. *scen.* 107), or with A. Grilli, *Studi enniani* (Brescia 1965) 206f, that it was added by Ennius to the speech of Iphigenia ending at 1473.

## CATULLUS I, HIS POETIC CREED, AND NEPOS

J. P. ELDER

Cui dono lepidum nouum libellum  
arida modo pumice expolitum?  
Corneli, tibi: namque tu solebas  
meas esse aliquid putare nugas  
5 iam tum, cum ausus es unus Italorum  
omne aeuum tribus explicare cartis  
doctis, Iuppiter, et laboriosis.  
Quare habe tibi quidquid hoc libelli,  
qualecumque quod, <o> patrona uirgo,  
10 plus uno maneat perenne saeclo.

WE should naturally expect the first poem in a collection which is extraordinarily varied in subject and form and which is often highly personal to reveal something, obliquely or openly, about its author's general artistic or aesthetic attitude. Thus, in Catullus' opening poem we might reasonably look for something more than the literal fact that the slim new book is attractive — in itself this intelligence would seem almost coy — and for something more than a justified dedication and a final request of a nameless Muse that the collection may live for more than one generation. We should expect, in short, not just "amiable but aimless verse"<sup>1</sup> but some sort of information about the whole collection's spirit and style.

It is my persuasion that in his first poem, on a second and metaphorical level, Catullus is indirectly announcing to those who looked to Ennius as a model his own adherence to Callimachus' poetical credo. This declaration would be understandably indirect, for Catullus, so far as we know, in this respect would then be truly a pioneer. Callimachean declarations will come more easily later on to Virgil, Horace, and Propertius.

I suggest, too, that Catullus is also inviting the Neposes, the literate elders of Rome, to accept this admittedly "new" kind of Latin poetry. If respected literary leaders like Nepos, who despite probable personal claims would thus also be a generic figure in this poem, will accept the



New Poetry, then Catullus' collection (whatever it was) will indeed live *plus uno saeclo*.

Though we may well be prompted by a natural expectation, yet what specific items in the poem itself (the tradition of dedicatory poems is of little or no help here)<sup>2</sup> might actually lead us to suspect that it contains more than meets the eye, more than a cluster of literal facts — that it also speaks on a metaphorical plane, albeit its precise meaning on this level is not immediately clear?

First of all, the second line, if read only literally, seems a bit out of proportion. It may be a mildly amusing intrusion, but it is too big an item for such a little poem. Moreover, the fact of outward polish is in itself no commendation of a book's contents; witness Suffenus: *pumice omnia aequata* (22.8). Unless we agree with the ironical Henry Tilney in *Northanger Abbey* when Catherine Morland remarked: "But now really, do not you think Udolpho the nicest book in the world?" "The nicest; — by which I suppose you mean the neatest. That must depend upon the binding."

Then, too, the last line is troublesome: dangling and apparently not closely connected with what preceded it.<sup>3</sup> Somehow this request of the Muse should be more intimately joined to Nepos and the *tibi*'s of lines 3 and 8.

This in turn leads us to ask whether there is some kind of relationship implicit between the juristic formula, inverted here, of *habe tibi* (line 8) and a possible patron-client relationship hinted at in the mysterious *patrona uirgo* of the next line.

Further, there seems to emerge a group of apparent contrasts:

*omne aeuum*<sup>4</sup> (a solemn word) vs. *nugae*  
*omne aeuum* vs. *uno saeclo*  
*libellum* vs. *tribus cartis*  
*lepidum nouum* vs. *doctis laboriosis*  
*nouum* vs. *perenne*<sup>5</sup>

Why these seeming oppositions? What may they intend to say to us?

Finally, the poem stylistically divides itself into three parts: lines 1-4, 5-7, and 8-10. The first and the third parts are written in a tight, economical manner, with no verbiage or padding. But the middle portion, that about Nepos' work, is puffed and somewhat pompous writing (e.g., *iam tum, cum ausus* or *doctis, Iuppiter, et laboriosis*); the period is longer, more involved.

This division, made on stylistic grounds, is borne out by the lines' terminal sounds: *um/um* and *as/as* in the first part, *is/is* in the second, and *o/o* in the third (plus the internal *qu*-sounds).

Then we notice that the first and third sections both deal with Catullus' book and Nepos (with the request of the *patrona uirgo* added in the third), but that the second deals only with Nepos' *Chronica*. Further, the first and third parts are linked by the *tibi*'s (lines 3 and 8) and by *libellum* and *libelli* (lines 1 and 8), just as the *unus* of line 5 and the *uno* of line 10 may in some fashion bring together the second and third parts.

In fine, these contrasts seem to propose some sort of difference between the kind of writing Nepos now practiced or admired in others, and the kind Catullus supports. They seem, too, to propose a possible connection between Nepos and the ultimate reception of Catullus' poetry.

Holding these contrasts and their unclear implications in our minds, let us now return to the question of Catullus' adherence to Callimachean poetics.

There is no need here to restate Callimachus' views on good and bad poetry, or his influence on Latin poetry.<sup>6</sup> These matters have received thoughtful treatment. Hence we may at once move on to ask how far Catullus, in his praise or damnation of poets, subscribes to Callimachus' notions.

When we seek to discover what kind of poetry Catullus admired, we shall find Poem 50 (to Calvus) and Poem 95 (on Cinna's *Zmyrna*) the most instructive. In the first we mark the emphasis upon *otium* (necessary for *lusus* or *nugae*), upon *ludere*, upon *uersiculos*, and upon experimentation with a variety of meters. The second poem is more explicit. Cinna, who took nine years to complete his epyllion, is favorably contrasted with Hortensius, who took one (year or month or day) to turn out five hundred thousand (verses). Then in Poem 95b — I use Mynors' numbering — comes a clear Callimachean echo:

Parua mei mihi sint cordi monimenta . . .  
at populus *tumido* gaudeat Antimacho.<sup>7</sup>

Antimachus wrote a lengthy epic and the narrative *Lyde*, which seems to have been chiefly elegiac in its meter, and which Callimachus declared to be *παχὺ γράμμα καὶ οὐ τὸρόν* (398 Pf.).<sup>8</sup>

When we pass to the kind of poetry Catullus disliked, we find, as we found in Poem 95, that his chief object of disapproval is the long poem,

probably historical epic. In Poem 95 Hortensius is criticized for length.<sup>9</sup> In the same poem the unknown Volusius is condemned for his presumably Ennian-like *Annales*; they are to die where no doubt Volusius hailed from — by the (muddy) Po. The descriptive phrase applied to these same *Annales* in another poem speaks for itself. The same charge of length is made, too, against the otherwise pleasant Suffenus:

idemque longe plurimos facit uersus.

Prolixity and celerity of composition are the objectionable features.<sup>10</sup> But we may guess that for Catullus such long historical poems also represented a dull and monotonous style of narrative, and a lack of emotional focus — qualities which he and his fellow poets, like Callimachus before them, found insipid and unattractive.

In general, then, Catullus emerges as an orthodox follower of Callimachus in his judgments upon other poets. And his own practice? Orthodoxy here, too. But we might add that Catullus not only brought Callimachus into his poetry by name no less than three times and here and there plainly echoes him, but also that he translated one of Callimachus' poems. (Nothing like this can be said about Catullus and any other Alexandrian poet.)

To conclude, Catullus, as I read his first poem, is amiably telling Nepos that he, Catullus, is not going to do in poetry what Nepos had done in prose, i.e. that he is not going to follow the Ennian model of lengthy historical narrative. Nor the style of writing which goes along with that kind of narrative. Such must be the meaning of the puffed-up writing in lines 5–7, lines about Nepos' *Chronica*. And the meaning behind the contrasts of *omne aeuum* with *nugae*, or of *libellum* with *tribus cartis*, or of *lepidum nouum* with *doctis, Iuppiter, et laboriosis*.

The declaration is put good-naturedly to Nepos, as not only the purpose behind it would advise, but as also the assistance which Nepos doubtless had given his compatriot would call for. The fact, too, that Nepos wrote his historical work in prose would make it easier for Catullus with some grace to say to Nepos what he did say.

We might speculate further. Nepos may well at an earlier time — *solebas* and *iam tum cum* — have called Catullus' verse *nugae*, in the Plautine, certainly not in a technical, usage. Catullus, groping about for a critical vocabulary,<sup>11</sup> may well have decided to face the challenge head on by picking up Nepos' *nugae* and using it deliberately in a new

and original sense.<sup>12</sup> Wagenvoort, who pronounces *nugae* to be "practically synonymous with *ludus*" comes to a conclusion worth quoting: "*Ludus* and *ludere* . . . may indicate playful or trifling versifying in contrast to serious, true poetry, but also true poetry of a lighter nature in contrast to epics and tragedies as a superior kind; it may even — though only in very exceptional cases — include the whole of poetry in contrast to a political life-work, considered as the more important. Hence the inaccuracy of the assertion that the Romans should have considered all poetry as a mere game."<sup>13</sup> It may be that Catullus would have called even his longer poems *nugae*, though I rather doubt it.

At all events, to return to Catullus' Callimachean allegiance, *lepidum* and *nouum* and *expolitum* now take on second meanings. *Lepidus* implies attractive pull, internal power of charming, and it refers "primarily to qualities of character and personality." So constantly in Lucretius (the adjective once, the noun eleven times). And so Catullus in regard to poetry (*lepidu uersu*, 6.17, and *leporem*, 16.7) or to a poet (*tuo lepore*, of Calvus, 50.7). So, too, Ausonius interpreted *lepidum libellum*.<sup>14</sup>

As for *nouum*, it must mean what Cicero, writing in 46, meant by *noui poetae*, and just possibly what Virgil meant by *Pollio et ipse facit noua carmina* (*Ecl.* 3.86).<sup>15</sup> Now the point of line two becomes clear: the poems themselves are to have polish.

There remains the second conclusion to be proposed.

The Ennian model was potent in Catullus' day: Furius Bibaculus' *Bellum Gallicum* (?), P. Terentius Varro's *Bellum Sequanicum*, Volusius' *Annales*, Hortensius' *Annales* (if they were in verse), and Cicero's *Marius*, *De Consulatu Suo*, and *De Temporibus Meis*.<sup>16</sup> Perhaps, too, we should add that apparently Archias was still active.

Catullus, realizing the strength of this Ennian tradition, may have chosen Nepos as the one to whom the *libellus* should be dedicated, not so much because Nepos had befriended him (though I do not deny such motivation) nor because Nepos too had written *uersiculi*, as because he and Nepos were friends, and so were Nepos and Cicero and Atticus.<sup>17</sup> Further, if we may judge from a later verdict, Nepos thought Catullus a very good poet.<sup>18</sup> Catullus, I suggest, is making in his opening poem an out-and-out plea to Nepos: if you and your friends will receive and accept my kind of poetry, then my collection will live.<sup>19</sup> Such an interpretation knits together what I called parts 1 and 3, as in fact they are stylistically joined, and joined through the *tibi*'s and *libellum* and *libelli*.<sup>20</sup> And the *uno* of *plus uno saeclo* then deliberately plays for indulgence upon the *unus* of *unus Itolorum*.



In this light, too, perhaps we can make something of *patrona uirgo*. If *uirgo* as a Muse is "curiously unexplicit"<sup>21</sup> — she certainly is — one can only ask what specific Muse could ever be invoked to preside over the fortunes of a collection of verse so unusual in both meters and subjects. Yet perhaps the very oddness of the adjective *patrona* clarifies things. "C. schliesst mit dem Gebet an die Muse, seinem Buche ein langes Leben zu verleihen — ein Ersatz für die sonst übliche Bitte um Inspiration" (Kroll). Possibly Catullus is the *cliens* and Nepos the potentially practical *patronus*.<sup>22</sup> If such an idea be present, the last two lines accordingly become a tight and integral part of the whole poem.

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## NOTES

1. F. O. Copley, "Catullus, c.1," *TAPA* 82 (1951) 200; Copley too viewed this poem as truly "introductory" and laid much stress on its use of "ordinary language."

2. See Kroll *ad loc.*; the custom of prefixing a dedicatory poem to any such collection could not, it would seem, have arisen at least any earlier than the Hellenistic age; the closest parallel is Meleager *Anth. Pal.* 4.1. See also Z. Stewart, "The Song of Silenus," *HSCP* 64 (1959) 199 n.10.

3. So, for example, M. Lenchantin de Gubernatis, *Il Libro di Catullo* (Torino 1953) 3: "9. Dopo aver finto così poca stima per l'opera propria, il poeta, un po' illogicamente se si vuole, invoca per essa l'immortalità," or E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 232: "In Catullus the final prayer to the Muse is loosely attached to the dedication to Cornelius Nepos."

4. B. Axelsson, *Unpoetische Wörter* (Lund 1945) 126 n.18.

5. Cf. Hor. C. 3.30.1: *aere perennius*.

6. See W. Clausen, "Callimachus and Latin Poetry," *GRBS* 5 (1964) 181-96. On Parthenius' role in making Callimachus known to Latin poets, see Clausen, pp. 187ff, and L. Alfonsi, *Poetae Novi* (Como 1945) 56ff.

7. I am tempted, from structural considerations, to believe that 95b goes with 95. Lines 1-2 treat of Cinna, 3 (and presumably 4) of an objectionable poet (Hortensius), 5-6 of Cinna again, 7-8 of another objectionable poet (Volusius), and 9-10 would appear to be a generic coda, dealing both with Cinna and yet another objectionable poet (Antimachus).

8. R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* (Oxford 1949) I 326, *ad. Frag.* 398, notes the contrast between *πάχιστον* and *λεπταλέην* in *Frag.* 1. 23-24 (p. 5).

9. Hortensius, like the youthful Cicero, had once turned to Alexandria; see Alfonsi (cited in n. 6) 48f.

10. Cf. Hor. S. 1.4.9-10: "in hora saepe ducentos, / ut magnum, versus dictabat stans pede in uno" and 9.23-24: "nam quis me scribere pluris / aut citius possit versus?"

11. For a critical vocabulary, he mostly drew upon the clichés of his social group (listed by C. J. Fordyce, *Catullus* [Oxford 1961] 197). Cf. Hor. AP 272-73: "si modo ego et vos / scimus inurbanum lepido seponere dicto."



12. Helped along perhaps, by Philetas' *Paegnia* and Laevius' *Erotopaegnia*.
13. H. Wagenvoort, *Studies in Roman Literature, Culture and Religion* (Leiden 1956) 39.
14. *Ecl.* 1.4: "at nos inlepidum, rudem libellum." So E. Baehrens, *Catulli Veronensis Liber* (Leipzig 1885) II 67, interpreted *lepidum* and *novum* as referring to the character, not the appearance, of the book. Cf. too *Ciris* 100.
15. The *et* here seems significant.
16. See B. Otis, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford 1963) 24ff.
17. If there be anything to the theses set forth in the present paper, these may affect our interpretation of Catullus' poem to Cicero, no. 49.
18. *Atticus* 12.4. Note, too, that here Nepos brackets Catullus with the most Ennian of poets, Lucretius, thereby showing that he recognized both the Callimachean and the Ennian traditions.
19. Horace makes essentially the same appeal for approbation in *C.* 1.1.35-36.
20. It is Catullus' wont, I believe, to tie together the beginning and end of a poem—even in the case of number 68!
21. Fordyce (cited in n. 11) 87.
22. We need not debate whether the Muse or Nepos is the patron (cf. A. Riese, *Die Gedichte des Catullus* [Leipsig 1884] 3); presumably Nepos was Catullus' patron in the past and hopefully will be for the present, but for the future the patron must be divine (cf. Suet *Gram.* 6: "quia scriptores ac poetas sub clientela Musarum iudicaret").



## EXPRESSIVE FORM IN EURIPIDES' *SUPPLIANTS*

WESLEY D. SMITH

THE *Suppliants* is a drama of great force involving the eternal longing for peace but choice of war, the dependence of political decision on private passions, moral involvement with those with whom one becomes a political ally, and similar concerns important to Euripides' contemporaries and to us. But it has proved a difficult play to appreciate as drama and hence is said to lack unity or to fail, despite its power, to elicit a coherent response.<sup>1</sup> The *Suppliants* comes from the same general period as the *Hecuba*, the *Troades*, and the *Heracles*, each of which has striking structural anomalies; but, though it has structural affinities with each of them, the reasons for its peculiarities have been less obvious and it has attracted few admirers. Yet, paradoxically, it has been much studied for its sentiments, in the conviction that Euripides put much of himself into it and so gave it its air of speaking from the heart about some of the poet's deepest concerns.<sup>2</sup>

Before the last quarter-century, critics generally treated the play as a simple encomium of Athens, a patriotic retelling of the myth of the Athenian restoration of the bodies of the Seven for burial, with a resultant treaty or oath of gratitude from the Argives. Things not relevant to that simple story, such as the political debate, the *epitaphion*, and Evadne's suicide, were explained as padding, to be accounted for separately as pleasing to the audience or as expressing the poet's private concerns.<sup>3</sup> Such dissection of the piece into the play and irrelevant addenda has seemed increasingly less satisfactory. Recently, G. Zuntz, maintaining the description of the play as an encomium of Athens, read in the padding of the plot a celebration of the city's institutions and an acknowledgement of its current suffering.<sup>4</sup> Alternatively, Gilbert Norwood proposed that the simple plot was the Euripidean play, while the rest was crude interpolation.<sup>5</sup>

Various recent critics, while admitting a formal looseness or incoherence, have argued that the play shows a complexity and consistency of theme belying its interpretation as a simple patriotic piece. H. G. L. Greenwood found in the "padding" a consistent pacifism which in effect parodied, for the sake of the enlightened, the simple

story of the just war.<sup>6</sup> Kitto found a concern for the tragedies which even just war causes and will continue to cause.<sup>7</sup> D. J. Conacher pointed out that Euripides' usual skepticism is present side by side with the simple piety of the story.<sup>8</sup> And J. W. Fitton, concentrating on the political themes, found a consistent satirical ambivalence between the ideas expressed and the realities of human character and action.<sup>9</sup> By demonstrating the complexity in its presentation, these studies have helped to open the play to our appreciation, but I believe that much remains to be said about its possibilities as an effective drama.

Consideration of the play's dramatic qualities has been limited by oversimplification in treating its structure and intention, particularly by the tendency to judge relevance to dramatic structure in terms of contribution to plot, and the tendency to focus on the question whether Euripides and the play are for or against Athens and Athenian politics. This study will propose that the play is cast in a complex form to picture the complex forces affecting and limiting Athenians and Greeks generally in political affairs. The play reveals its point of view by raising the questions what corrupts justice, purity, and intelligence and turns men into beasts (201ff, 734ff), or why men can't learn (914ff, 1080ff). In the situation the play takes as its example, the aftermath of the attack of the Seven on Thebes, the Thebans who defeated the Argives, the Argives who belong to the dead, and the Athenians who are strangers to them are all driven to give an interpretation of what civilization means, what honor and piety require, and what in action is creative or destructive. Judging their success or failure is fairly easy (the play is not a riddle), but is less the play's point than is the picture drawn of the human dilemma of possessing a common *logos* which expresses the common knowledge of the good and yet of being unable, in the welter of conflicting (or at least ambiguous) necessities, passions, and ideals, to accomplish the good with what they possess of human understanding (203, 486, 735). The artistic intention of the play, or what gives it its unity and appeals to a response in the audience, is to be sought in the development of themes, imagery, and symbols through which the audience is invited to view the meaning of the incidents in terms of the whole. That the *Suppliants*, so analyzed, exhibits an admirable formal coherence and expressiveness will be the contention of this essay, which will begin with proposals about the general design and intended effect of the play and proceed with consideration of details to support the interpretation.

The external form of the *Suppliants* seems justified when one stops trying to explain it as a single action with addenda and sees it as two

actions, differently structured, juxtaposed for contrast, but related as complementary aspects of the same picture. The first movement of the play is a plot involving the making of a crucial decision of state, cast in a hallowed dramatic form: suppliants place the obligation of action on the state, and the state must balance its survival against the demands of piety. Theseus investigates the suppliants' claim and rejects it; his mind is changed by his mother's intervention; his new decision is affirmed in a meeting with the enemy and carried out. The internal structure of theme and image pictures the influences at work that necessitate the decision and make it what it is, and they are treated in order of increasing complexity from bare emotion to problems of international negotiation. With Athenian success, where celebration might be in order, Euripides plunges the audience once more into the same questions of the springs of political action, but with a change in point of view; for, while the first movement is dominated by the Athenians, the second is all Argive. The second movement is built on the ritual of honoring the dead and depends for its coherence on a series of patterns interwoven: the stages of the funeral ritual itself, bringing in the corpses, funeral eulogy, *ekphora* and cremation, burial of the urns. Along with the ritual there is a schematic pattern of mourners, mothers, comrade, wife, father, sons of the fallen. And a pattern of commonplaces of mourning: the dead are gone but their example sustains us (Adrastus); nothing could be worse than my grief (mothers); I should have died with the dead (Evadne); it is better not to have children than to suffer their loss (Iphis); the dead have left us alone, but not entirely lonely (children). While the first half shows a healthy result coming out of a confluence of elements, personal and traditional, the second half rehandles in the new context the themes, images, and symbols that have been established and displays the negation of what was positive and hopeful in their first presentation. Reverence, loyalty, nurture of citizens in civic ideals — all become elements in the repetition of horror. Within the context of the funeral the poet shows the processes of praise of the dead because they are dead, suspension of judgment in the presence of passion, and the renewal of violence virtually in the same breath as renunciation of it.

Because of the discontinuity in dramatic movement, the play makes a different appeal to the audience and puts upon them a burden different from that imposed by a continuous plot with suspense and dramatic interest. The audience cannot feel involved in the forward march of the action; they must look on from the outside, as it were, and develop for themselves the meanings of the patterns put before



them. Hence the emotional experience of drama appealed to by the *Suppliants* is unlike Aristotle's standard in the *Poetics*, to which he relates his criteria for unity. The *Suppliants* progresses not to the completion of an action which will produce the tragic pleasure out of pity and fear, but rather to the completion of the exposition of the aspects of a human dilemma, which will produce understanding primarily, with an attendant mixture of desperation and hope — or so my reading of the play suggests. In the original presentation of the play the poet furnished his interpretation and forced it on the audience by emphasizing significant elements in the stage image, the rendering of their characters by the actors, and the verbal patterns important to his purpose. A critical reading attempts to reconstruct those original emphases out of indications in the verbal text. That is the purpose of the following analysis, which will attempt to show the developing structure of meaning in the play.

The mission to secure burial of the Seven and their army was one of the proud moments in Athens' mythical history, evidence for her enlightenment, whether enlightenment be described as piety or humanitarianism. Euripides chooses to make the mission a military rather than a diplomatic one, and he concentrates first on the elements that, together, might have led to a decision to go to war. Anachronism is inevitable in the reconstruction of the past, but Euripides goes beyond what is inevitable for the sake of analyzing the pressures which Athenians might have felt if they had gathered not as audience in the theater but as assembly on the Pnyx. The play begins in an atmosphere of powerful, elemental emotions. Aithra stands at the altar of Demeter and Persephone. The *Proerosia* which she celebrates (28f) are, like her opening words, a prayer for the health and safety of the land and people.<sup>10</sup> Never far from those prayers is the fear that the goddess may be offended, and blight and famine follow. We know that Demeter might be offended by a suppliant branch in her temple at the time of the Eleusinia, and so might any sacrifice be ruined by the ill-omened word or deed.<sup>11</sup> Here the source of threat is obvious before Aithra describes it, in the tableau that opens the play. Aithra in festal clothes is surrounded by tattered, black-robed women who had entrapped her in "chains that are not chains" (32), their suppliant boughs. Adrastus is a weeping lump on the ground, covered by a cloak (20f, 110), and near him are some children in mourning, all within the temple precinct (104-6). The religious horror called upon by the scene is never directly described, for to suggest that the goddess' favor will be lost is unfortunate in itself; but it is communicated by reference to the impiety or inappropriateness

of the garb and sounds of weeping in that place (63ff, 97, 173), the fear that Aithra's weeping will pollute the altar (289-90), and Adrastus' invocation of Demeter as giver of grain when he calls her to witness that the suppliants have been dishonored (258-62). The suppliants may pollute the sacrifice and the earth of Athens with their colors, their boughs, and their emotions. What can free the city is intelligent, pious action (38-41). Besides fear the poet calls on human sympathy as a source of action. Aithra is restrained in her expression of pity (35-36), but it is on her pity that the suppliants depend: Aithra is old like them, like them a mother, but from her position of blessedness she should share (54-62), a sentiment that Theseus and Adrastus will refine in debate. The emotional setting given by the words and stage image is reinforced by the gestures of the chorus. Three sorts of gesture are prominent in the choral ode, all of which are significant for the dramatic structure. Their imprisonment of Aithra with threat of pollution (63-68) has been mentioned. Their beseeching gesture toward the altar is accompanied by outstretched hands asking to receive the corpses that need the embrace of the mother, of burial clothing, and of earth (60-62, 68-70).<sup>12</sup> That gesture will be repeated periodically until the final moments when they receive and embrace the urns, and Athens receives a blessing to replace the threat (1160ff). The third sort of gesture is the self-destructive lament, on which Euripides gives the *prospoloi* a self-conscious comment: it is the dance Hades loves, the dance that requires beating oneself and ripping one's cheeks: τὰ γὰρ φθιτῶν / τοῖς ὀρώσι κόσμος (78-79). That is, the rites they are practicing are proper (*kosmos*) for them, and self-destruction is an ornament (*kosmos*) they will wear. Rites of the dead are enacted in the second part of the play, and what is here taken for granted will there become a subject of inquiry, as will the word *kosmos*.

The make-up of the chorus requires some special comment at this point because it has presented apparently insoluble problems for scholars, never more effectively stated than by Norwood, who used them as evidence of clumsy redaction.<sup>13</sup> How can a chorus of fifteen call itself seven? How can eight attendants be distributed among seven mothers? How can five urns be handed to seven mothers at the end without embarrassment? How can Jocasta go unnoticed among the chorus? How can the chorus call itself Argive women, considering the origins of the Seven? Certainly curiosity about how such things were handled is more appropriate than righteous indignation at such botching or than assertions of impossibility. I propose that, within what we know of Greek dramatic conventions and staging and with reference to

the nature of the drama in which they occur, they are not difficult to accept.

The necessity of distributing the attendants, or (as I prefer) the companions, among the mothers seems to me to be nonexistent, although much discussion has been devoted to the subject. The word *prospoloi* is general enough, but scholars have been obsessed with the idea of handmaids — their vision is of young slaves standing dutifully behind each mother but not personally involved in the tragedy. The text gives no indication of that; rather, it indicates that the *prospoloi* share with the chorus their mission and their identity as bereaved mothers. The chorus consists of Argive mothers of two stations: the mothers of generals who are the official spokesmen, and mothers unspecified who accompany them. Together they make up a grotesque embassy (97, 168–73) which represents the emotions of all Argos (130). At times the mothers of the Seven are prominent and there is antiphonal response from the *prospoloi* (42–87, 598–633, 955–79), sometimes no response (918–24, 1114–21), while at other times the whole chorus sings as Argive women without differentiation (263–85, 365–80, 778–836). Only in the opening choral ode is there a distinction between the meters in which the two groups sing, and there it would seem to be an indication of the staging: the mothers of the Seven remain surrounding Aithra at the altar during the first choral song, and their part of the song is delivered in ionics, two strophes and antistrophes. The *prospoloi* take a more active part in their single strophe and antistrophe and are thereby introduced to the audience: they sing and dance in iambo-trochaic meters, and verbally and in gestures describe the rending, gnashing dance of death, the dance Hades reverences (75). But they are not experiencing vicarious grief. Their cries are the cries of mothers for dead children, as they say explicitly (82–87).

Beyond the opening tableau and choral song the division of parts, arrangement of hemichoruses, and delivery of strophe and antistrophe are less definite. But the arrangement of the chorus in the standard choral formation for the stasima is not difficult to envision:

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x x c x x
x o o o x
o o o o o

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- x mother of one of the Seven
- c coryphaeus, one of the mothers of the Seven
- o *prospolos*

For the first rank of the chorus to be prominent in the singing was usual in any case, and the second rank least prominent.<sup>14</sup> When the report of the disposal of the bodies is given (754ff), it is given in two parts, befitting the composition of the chorus: the Seven are to be brought to Eleusis, the rest were buried at Eleutherae. Theseus mentions the first funeral when arranging the second (838-39), and so the *prospoloi* and their reactions are not without definition or significance through the play. If in the final scene the five urns are delivered to the first rank of the chorus, there is no problem of logistics. The first rank of the chorus acts for the whole as the coryphaeus does in dialogue and as do one grandmother and one child in singing the kommos.<sup>15</sup>

One cannot say, of course, that this is precisely the way the staging was managed; but one can say that the text suggests a reasonable staging, and we can trust the text that we have. The unitary identity of the chorus, usual in the tragedies preserved, is here departed from to the extent of distinguishing two groups of mothers on the stage. Nevertheless, one does not identify Jocasta, just as one does not look for Hypermnestra among the Danaids in a comparable situation. Nor is the alteration of the myth to allow Jocasta's presence here extraordinary. The Greek theater presumes an ability to bring a narrow focus on its material and to consider relevant only what is to be used out of all available mythology. The audience need have no trouble accepting the chorus.

To return to the structure of the play: the opening chorus presents a direct translation of the stage emotion into political policy. Their children's corpses wander by the Ismenus (suggesting Styx, 61-62) unburied, beasts are eating them (47). To restore them to their mothers' arms is holy and just, to fail to do so is the opposite (63ff). With the arrival of Theseus the scope of consideration widens. Theseus registers the passions on the stage at his entrance, but quickly moves on to curt questioning of Adrastus: "Speak. Uncover your head and stop groaning. Your only means of progress is language" (110f). The conversation moves through a number of topics with bewildering speed, and only in Theseus' final rejection of the suppliants' claim do the topics and symbols finally cohere. The burden of the scene is to translate to the realm of rational political deliberation the claims of passion and religion from the prologue.

The questioning proceeds from the immediate occasion of the supplication to the origins of the expedition in the *kedeia* (with its usual secondary meaning of care of the dead) which Adrastus contracted as his interpretation of Apollo's advice to marry his daughters to a boar



and a lion. To the sudden question whether he consulted divination for the expedition against Thebes, Adrastus can only confess his inconsistency and plead that he was misled by young men. Theseus' pithy judgment is to echo through the play: *εὐψυχίαν ἔσπευσας ἀντ' εὐβουλίᾳς* (161). Hence Adrastus is reduced to the appeal of wretchedness as he sees Theseus' obvious distaste for him: behold the humiliation and misery of myself and these women (163-75): however unattractive misfortune is (180-83), the rich must help the poor for fear that the same will happen to them (179) and for the sake of setting a good example (176-78). Only humane and powerful Athens can help: Sparta is uncivilized and shift, and the rest of Greece is weak (185-92). The specific points made by Adrastus require attention because it has often been doubtful to scholars that Theseus' answering "theodicy" is relevant to its context or to the play.<sup>16</sup> We need neither deny structural relevance nor emend the speech to make it more logical. Theseus responds with great emotion to each of Adrastus' points, but his response is largely the answer of image to image and attitude to attitude. In general he defends himself against the charge that rejection of a claim made in misery is impiety or bad policy. He denies it by arguing that the fall into misery is neither necessary nor sacred, because the gods have brought us into the light (that is, purity, life, intelligence) out of a bestial, filthy, confused state (195-202). In his list of civilization's blessings he starts from intelligence and language, its messenger, and ends with prophecy (203-13). But Adrastus has been too fastidious for these blessings (214) and preferred bestiality. Theseus' consideration of what is good policy is more complicated. He conceives it in terms of purity and pollution, a latent idea from the beginning of the play, symbolized in the stage setting in black and white. Adrastus has polluted his house and city by mingling (marrying, coupling) the just with the unjust, the healthy with the corrupt (220-25); and, since the gods consider the possessions of *philo*i common, so is their destruction (225-28). Of the two extreme bestial elements in the state, the rich and poor, Adrastus and his friends resemble both, and so alliance with them is impossible (229-46). Theseus rejects *symmachia* (246) because it involves *symmixis* (222). He must preserve his middle order, the sponsor of *kosmos* (245). Thus Theseus refutes the suppliants' claims by usurping their symbols. Adrastus can only threaten to pollute the altar (258ff), and the chorus can only say, "Even a beast has a cave to flee to, a slave has the altars of the gods, city crouches against city in a storm" (267-69).

Aithra's intervention in the resulting impasse has been well prepared



for by the sympathy between her and the women of the chorus. Her forcefulness and the new elements she intrudes into the discussion of policy are surprising. Her final words in the prologue (at the time an indication that nothing would happen before Theseus' arrival) will cause a smile as they are now remembered: she said she would await Theseus' pious action, πάντα γὰρ δι' ἀρσένων / γυναιξὶ πράσσειν εἰκός, αἴτινες σοφαί (40f). Now as she hesitates, Theseus assures her that he too feels something at the women's plight and that much wisdom comes from women (288, 294). Still speaking from the altar she corrects Theseus, first by pointing out that the important issue is not what the Argives have done but the irrereligious violation of Panhellenic custom regarding burials (301-13). Her continuation, however, is rather personal: people are likely to say that he took on the inferior labor of slaying an obstreperous wild boar but would not labor with a shield and spear to bring a crown to his city (314-19). And she compares his hesitation to Athens' boldness: Athens is like Perseus and Athena, who respond with a gorgon's eye to enemies (321-23). It is in labors that Athens grows, she is not conservative or obscure. Aithra's tactics are successful. Theseus responds not to the point of discussion but to the word *ponos* and the concept of *polypragmosyne* (339, 342), that is, to Aithra's twitting him about his heroic reputation. The realism of Euripides, his presentation of men as they are, generally verges on comedy of manners, and so it does here. It reduces Theseus in size to have the process of personal decision laid out and his motives exposed, especially with such economy. But the satire is not a shout of scorn, as Greenwood's analysis would suggest; nor is the scene a dramatization of Athens' nobility in taking on a labor from which it can gain nothing, as Zuntz argues. Few in the audience would doubt that Theseus' decision is the right one, as Athenian tradition claimed, but there arises an unsettling air of reality when it comes about by the chance of Theseus' mother finding the right words to embarrass him. The intricate web of religious and moral considerations involving the nature of civilized behavior is made in a moment to depend on that decisive thread. Aithra in her turn has changed the symbols that are current and added new ones: beasts are what the hero kills in his city's name; the light and dark imagery becomes a symbol of action. Cities who hesitate remain dark and look on darkness (324f), and the health and fertility of the city depend on the glow of heroism (323).

Theseus' clash with the Theban herald dramatizes the last stage in the process which makes the mission a violent one. The scene is so arranged that the two opponents are in heated dispute, showing their

contempt for one another before any substantive issue is raised. Their initial debate on the best form of government has been much criticized as irrelevant, since nothing comes of it dramatically. The criticism is meaningful only as it relates to the plot, and even so is not entirely valid for the plot. The atmosphere and attitudes of the debate are the cause of the failure to arrive at productive deliberation, which is the debate's topic. The scene progresses in crescendo from the debate on government through the ultimatum and answer to the mock-polite exchange of insults — for Athens' pride in *polypragmosyne*<sup>17</sup> and the pride of Thebes in the sown men. Neither side affects the other, as is the rule in Euripidean debates, and often their point. But, as is also the rule, basic issues of the play are raised and its symbols broadened. The Theban presents a possible and often held view of the Athenian direct democracy, for the establishment of which Theseus here takes credit. How, asks the Theban, can there be considered, stable, professional judgment for the common good from a mob of part-time farmers (412-25)? Theseus answers that the common good must be served by customs that are common and use the best of each citizen. Even the weak can shine forth when he has something to say (429-41). Theseus picks up the slur on farmers and returns to the agricultural symbol with which the play began: in freedom the people and land flourish. The tyrant must kill the intelligent youth to preserve himself, lopping off their heads like unripe grain (442-49). As they proceed to the ultimatum and answer, the Theban speaks to Theseus' use of *koinon*: what is really common to all is the reasoning and perception that the productive joy of peace is better than war, yet this knowledge has no effect (486-93). The Theban, of course, is illustrating the failing he describes (cf. 540-48), and what he says has meaning for the play as a whole, as does the statement, "When the people vote for war, no man calculates that his own death is in his vote" (481f).

As the quarrel reaches its conclusion, Euripides calls to mind the thematic development to this point: the Theban repeats Theseus' earlier argument that to help the impious would be to pretend to greater wisdom than Zeus who defeated them (494-505), while Theseus repeats what he learned from Aithra, that it is the common, sacred customs of Greece which are at stake, not the Argive cause (517-41). In words significant beyond their context Theseus ridicules the Thebans' deep concern without really meeting it: the Thebans are superstitiously afraid that the corpses will ruin the land or sprout and bring forth avengers (542-46). The validity of the Thebans' fear is to be shown in the parade of the Epigonoï, but the only course they can

devise is rightly called a superstitious makeshift, an empty squandering of language (547f). On his side Theseus will maintain the purity of his mission by excluding Adrastus, and the imagery of mingling recalls the reasons (591): Theseus hopes to have the gods with him, for without the gods *arete* is meaningless (596f). This summary of the major themes along with the violent insults and lack of meaningful exchange between Thebes and Athens displays the elements of the decision that stands so proudly in Athenian tradition. The attack on Thebes is both a defense of civilized ideals and a result of their failure, the failure of language to be the messenger of intelligence (203f, cf. 547f) and so to achieve that health and fertility and purity which involve, among other things, rendering back to fostering earth that which she gave (531-36). The mixture of results finds its expression in the messenger's report of the battle which ends the first movement. His speech is calculated to start slowly, though with the good omen of a column of sunlight. Now dialogue is at an end, and the Thebans are silent when Theseus repeats his limited demands (673f). The fight is difficult and indecisive, until at its climax Theseus shines forth (698) and appears heroized as he was later to appear at Marathon.<sup>18</sup> Aithra's promises to him are fulfilled, but his bloody activity with his club is imaged as reaping the Theban troops, lopping off their heads (714-17).

The messenger of the battle is an Argive, Capaneus' servant (64of), reporting to Argives. By that device Euripides works the transition from what has been an Athenian play to what will be an Argive one. The shift in point of view is done smoothly, with the intent, I believe, of rendering a shock to the audience when they realize what the shift involves. The process is perhaps not obvious to the audience until Adrastus has begun the funeral speech, but it begins subtly in the scene with the messenger, during which the point of view about the dead changes. On identifying himself the messenger speaks of Capaneus as "he whom Zeus blasted" (640), and in praising Theseus he compares him with Capaneus: "That is the kind of general to get, who is a tower of strength in crisis and despises the arrogant crowd who in good fortune, seeking to mount to the ladder's top lose what success they had" (726-30).

Adrastus draws the moral: "Zeus, how can we say that men have reason? We depend on you and do whatever you wish." For illustration he adds to the tradition the surprising item that Eteocles offered negotiation but the Argives in their hatred refused it. Now the Thebans have suffered the same — preferred *φόνος* to *λόγος* (734-49). The audience may feel at this point as Zuntz does, that Adrastus has been

made wise and dignified by suffering, or they may feel irritated at the implications of Adrastus' moralizing and the terms in which he explains his departure from reason. Irritation seems to me to be the more appropriate response.<sup>19</sup> In either case the reversal of the point of view about the dead is obvious as soon as the mourning begins. "Bring in the bodies of the unlucky men, slain by wounds they did not deserve at the hands of the unworthy men who won the fight" (811ff). The distinctions on the basis of which Theseus undertook the war are blurred and then effaced in the comfortable release of grief. Adrastus' version of the commonplace wish to have died with the dead is expressed in such a way as to socialize and dignify the fate of Capaneus: "Ah, snatch me away beneath the earth, may whirlwinds snatch me away, may the flame of Zeus fall on my head" (828ff), while the chorus speaks of the Erinyes of Oedipus' house that caused all the trouble (833ff).

Crucial to a reading and production of the play is an understanding of what Theseus does when he returns to the stage in that atmosphere, and some of the relevant material from the physical production seems beyond our knowledge or demonstration. It would appear that at the end of the procession of corpses, after the corpses have taken the center of the stage during the song and dance of grief, Theseus enters speaking coolly and abruptly, with the suggestion unique in tragedy that he is carrying on a conversation as he enters (838-40). Whether indication was made in costuming or posture of his recent military role and the blood he splattered with his club is impossible to say. Theseus' invitation to Adrastus to deliver the funeral speech is in a tone of reserved politeness verging on superciliousness. He is no longer berating Adrastus and the Seven as he had, but his previous sentiments are not forgotten; he asks Adrastus, who is wise on the subject, to speak to the Argive children of the origins of these men who were notable for their *εὐψυχία* (840ff).<sup>20</sup> Theseus' memorable judgment of them was "you preferred *εὐψυχία* to good sense" (161). He accompanies his invitation to speak with an injunction not to be too fanciful (846-56), a passage that is best read as a contribution to the tone of the scene rather than as a slap at Aeschylus or as a casual bit of "literary criticism."<sup>21</sup> The dramatic effect is to invite the audience not simply to give itself to the stage emotions, but to think about them — an aesthetic distance made possible by keeping the Athenian dead off the stage. In a situation charged with potential emotional involvement of the audience, the satire perhaps needs to be broader in order to limit that involvement. Hence the funeral speech itself is arranged to emphasize the satire as



Adrastus claims to speak "true things and just."<sup>22</sup> Capaneus, who is eulogized first, is presented as a perfect example of modesty. This play has already reminded us of the tradition of his impious boasting for which he was blasted (495ff, 639f, 831). And it has firmly characterized Capaneus and the others as a young mob (160f, 218-49, 335ff, 589ff). Tydeus, last of the five bodies eulogized, is as prominent as Capaneus in myth, known for bribery, assassination, cannibalism, and suspected fratricide.<sup>23</sup> The *epitaphion* demonstrates what can be said of such a man in the context of a funeral: he was a sophist of the shield, not so clever as his brother, but he still made a name for himself. The passage is flat and repetitious, but that is part of its effect. It should not be truncated as editors have done. Between Tydeus and Capaneus the less known three are simply treated as extrapolations of their names, and all five are presented as examples to youth in a finely ironic variation on a common thesis: courage can be taught if even the infant is taught to say and hear things he does not understand: and what he learns will stay with him (913-17). This recalls Adrastus' previous musings about mortal lack of intelligence (734ff): men repeatedly perform the same patterns and learn only in the recoil of events. It will in turn be echoed by Iphis and fulfilled in the appearance of the children of the Seven.

After a brief and touching ejaculation of grief from the chorus, Adrastus adds footnotes on the two absent bodies. The gods have already eulogized Amphiaras; and if he, Adrastus, were to praise Polyneices he would not lie, for Polyneices was his guest-friend (or host) before coming to Argos (925-32). The effect of this speech and of the scene as a whole has been obscured by Musgrave's "correction" of the text which gives the remarks on Amphiaras and Polyneices, as well as the subsequent proposals for the funeral, to Theseus;<sup>24</sup> for although the satire in the funeral speech was recognized as long ago as Wecklein, it has been considered an isolated phenomenon, casual satire of Aeschylus or of funeral speeches generally, rather than an integral part of the design of the *Suppliants*. Therefore it hardly mattered who spoke what lines; there seemed to be no dramatic involvement on either side. But something is happening on the stage; and, though the attribution of the lines is not crucial, it is significant. Perhaps the meaning of the whole scene is best seen in its ending, in the philosophical summing-up by Adrastus as the bodies are carried out to cremation (945-54): "Men are stupid to pick up the spear and engage in *ponoi*. They should live *hesuchoi*." Both the reflection on the terms which Aithra used to encourage defense of principle (in *ponoi* Athens grows, etc.) and the contradiction of the sentiments of the funeral speech seem unmistakable.



The play's two examples, of uncivilized ambition and of ambition for civilization, are made nonsense by the effacement of all distinctions. As Adrastus said (253-56), he did not come to Athens for correction but for help. During Adrastus' pietistic, self-contradictory moralizing, Theseus holds his peace in the tradition of speaking no evil of the dead, only interfering to prevent the chorus from embracing the mangled and suppurating corpses (942ff). Theseus does not indicate whether or not he shares here the audience's opinion of Adrastus. After his ambiguous introduction to the funeral speech he withdraws into the formality of his role as host at the funeral.<sup>25</sup> Theseus is not the poet's mouthpiece or his foil. He is the hero of tradition made a believable man, with the limited capacity of all men for lasting good or evil. Euripides uses his chorus as an actor, not as a mediator between actor and audience. The audience has to do its own thinking.

While the bodies are removed the chorus again sing their grief in words that recall the first stasimon, and introduce the imagery that will dominate the subsequent scene, an image of loneliness and randomness: they feel like a lone cloud rushing before a storm wind. One might still ask at this point in the play, why not respect such poignant grief and simply eulogize the dead? As the chorus later asks, what could be worse than such grief (1126ff)? But Euripides has an answer ready in the uses of grief by Evadne and the Epigonoi.

While the chorus sings Evadne appears, dressed in a flowing, festive dress appropriate for a wedding. Her dress again contrasts with that of the chorus, and recalls Aithra (the actor is likely the same) but with pathetic contrasts in the rite they come to celebrate. Aithra claimed passivity but determined Theseus' policy of heroism, while Evadne is introduced by imagery of passivity and helplessness but claims heroism and success. She is called a plaything of the winds, death's bacchante, a bird who will spring into a fiery wedding with her husband and mingle her body with his in the flames (1001, 1029, 1046, 1048). The pathos and theatricality of the scene are much admired, but no one, so far as I know, has remarked the relevance to the play's themes of her description of her object. Rather the scene is taken as an isolated episode showing Euripides' fascination with self-immolation, and Evadne is thought to be presented for admiration, perhaps for emulation by Athenian wives.<sup>26</sup>

It is true that she admires her own act. But the words in which she describes it show it as an extension of the delusion in the funeral speech and the decision to attack Thebes described in the *elenchos*.<sup>27</sup> In her first song and in answer to her father's questioning, Evadne speaks of

the glory her act will bring (1015, 1055) and, questioned more closely, describes herself as *kallinikos*. Her victory is to be over all women. When her father asks ἔργοις Ἀθάνας ἧ φρενῶν εὐβουλία; she replies ἀρετῇ. The audience is intended again to recall the earlier condemnation of the Seven, with emphasis on the word εὐβουλία (161), and the imagery of mingling from the same scene. In her distraction Evadne imagines she has no grief. And as she confuses in her babbling celestial fire and funeral torches, funeral pyre and piled up wedding songs (990–99), her stand over the flames is reminiscent of the raving of her husband at Thebes. She is an example of mingled fates, of marriage with turbidity; the destructive glow of heroism and honor to the dead she seeks parody the processes of life and civilization. Her appearance in the play is a shock, a theatrical gesture, but it presents at another level the very things the play is dealing with. She is a victim of the war, as is often said, but she is a victim of herself as well.

Beyond his response of horror and abject grief, which contributes to the effect of Evadne's scene, Iphis also offers a contribution to the play's themes of suffering, learning, and growth; and, amidst the commonplaces of mourning, he uses the metaphor of athletics for heroic action: he laments that life's course can be run only once, without chance to retrace one's steps and correct the errors of youth (1080–86). In contrast with his daughter, Iphis achieves the unheroic extreme. What he has learned in his life's course, it seems, is that, if he had not had children at all, he would not have lost them. He exits without his children's ashes, saying that his life is not worth prolonging and that he should give way to the young.<sup>28</sup> Iphis reflects on the contrast early in the play between the folly of youth and the wisdom of age. Both in his sentiments and in his helplessness he suggests an answer to the play's insistent question, "Stupid mortals, why can't you learn?"<sup>29</sup>

As Iphis gives way, the young to whom the funeral speech was delivered act out their grief and its effects. The kommos of child and grandmother has been justly appreciated for its portrayal of the revival of martial ardor in the Epigonoi and for reminiscences of the *Agamemnon* which suggest the similarity and futility of all wars. MS. L gives to Adrastus a single exclamation of support for the cries of vengeance (1145), appropriately just before the grandmother sings, "This evil sleeps not yet." If we are to allow such asymmetrical distribution of parts between strophe and antistrophe, Adrastus' interjection simply emphasizes what the kommos shows: the manner in which, despite pious disclaimers such as those of Adrastus earlier, the passions embodied in the rituals and commonplaces of grief and praise

of the dead contribute to the re-enactment of the horror. While the *Oresteia* pictures common public justice establishing a new fertility of civilization and ending the reign of vendetta, Euripides finds reason to be less sanguine about such progress.

The poetic and dramatic shape of the kommos as the climax of the funeral ritual and fulfillment of several of the play's themes deserves some comment: of the three strophes and antistrophes, the first deals with the loneliness and helplessness of the bereaved, the second introduces the cry for vengeance and the grandmother's feeble protest. In the third the chorus achieves the embrace of the dead so long withheld, and the children are given the promise that in one sense they will never be lonely: their grief and misery will last forever. The kommos re-enacts in small the course of the drama. Through the kommos the idea of the weight of the ashes, borrowed from the *Agamemnon*, is extended not only to the weight of the grief but to the weight of the misery to follow. Euripides enriches Aeschylus' metaphor even as he suggests that *pathos* does not bring *mathos*.<sup>30</sup>

At the end of the unsettling kommos Theseus returns to the stage to bid a brief farewell to the Argives and to enjoin them to retain their gratitude by teaching it verbatim from generation to generation. Theseus' absence is sufficient to account for his ignoring the kommos. An interesting structural element is introduced as the Argives begin to leave the stage. After Adrastus assures Theseus that Argos will remember, Theseus says, in effect, "What more can I do for you?" Adrastus answers, "χαίρει. For you and your city are worthy of it." And Theseus answers, "It shall be. May you meet with the same" (1180-83). Adrastus' words are a release of the threat that the suppliants brought with them at the opening and a finis to the structure of the play. But Athena is to reopen it, not to change what has been accomplished by the play but to make it more explicit.

Considering the reminiscences of the *Oresteia* in the kommos, it is not unlikely that there is further reminiscence in Athena's establishing a treaty, an institution with sacred sanction as the product of the experiences of the play but without Aeschylus' faith in its efficacy. Theseus, still in his role of host at the funeral, is willing to let the Argives go with only the request to be grateful. Athena has been called a blackmailer for telling Theseus not to let the bones go so easily and for demanding an oath. But the play has already made the reasons clear, and Athena adds the description of the coming destruction of Thebes by the Epigonoι. With another possible reference to the *Agamemnon*, and with relevance also to the imagery of bestiality in this play, Athena

addresses them as the lion cubs who will and must go out and make their kill as soon as their beards appear (1219–25). Athena speaks as an oracle describing what must happen (1219), and we need not presume that she approves or that she could reverse the course of events that we have already seen at its beginnings.<sup>31</sup> Again Athena is neither the poet's mouthpiece nor his foil. Her description projects onto the plane of history the devastating human frailty that produces one murderous crop after another. If the play were to go on and on we should expect to see that the Epigonoι would be blown along (cf. 554, 961f, 1029) and set upright or put down (cf. 334f, 494ff, 1228ff) but that the *logoi* Theseus would depend on would not remain the same as interpreted by their various messengers (1169–73). This has implications for the transmission of the Athenian myth of the play as well as the myth of the Seven. Consistently with the play, Athena does not recommend an offensive-defensive alliance, a mingling of fates, but only a one-sided oath of nonaggression — a difficult fact for interpreters who read the play as a recommendation for an entente with Argos. The play envisions no cure from the cycle that it dramatizes but, at most, hope that Athens may be exempted from its effects. There is no promise that the oath will be effective or suggestion that the reality of the play will be altered. Simply, the Argives will suffer if the oath is broken. The sanction of the oath is superior to a request for gratitude, but is no security.

Thus the play completes in pattern, gesture, theme, and symbol what it began. The Athenian expedition stands yet as a historic precedent in defense of civilized principles, but it is set in the context of the limitations involved in its achievement and the limitations that tend to make such precedents unusual and ineffective. Its form is such that it withholds the emotional release generally associated with success in drama. By putting affirmation first and qualification second and by keeping the audience from indulging in the stage emotions, the form aims at austerity as a corrective against the emotionalism which is its subject matter. There is not even the release of thorough pessimism or misanthropy, since affection for Athens and hope for the establishment of ideals are clear even while it is demonstrated that the truth does not lie in encomia. The form appeals to the mind, to irritate it and set it to work, achieving its unity in a view of men in action that comprehends both successes and failures. In this the *Suppliants* fulfills the duty of public art and education that the Athenians imposed on their drama; for it creates a form appropriate to that duty. Following Aristotle's lead and their own predilections based on a different cultural use of the drama, readers of the *Suppliants* have often looked for satisfaction and



release that the play was not intended to offer and have consequently been generally unresponsive to what it does offer. Theatrical production in sympathy with the play's mood and style would offer a test whether the form of the *Suppliants* is valid for our culture.

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## NOTES

1. See, for example, the strictures on the play by G. M. A. Grube, *The Drama of Euripides* (London 1941), esp. pp. 240f.

2. Summaries of the various opinions about the play's personal message are given by W. Schmid, Schmid-Stählin I.3 (Munich 1940) 449-62, and A. Lesky, *Die Tragische Dichtung der Hellenen* (Göttingen 1956) 176f.

3. "An und für sich einfach" is the description of the plot by Wecklein, *Die Schutzflehenden* (Berlin 1912) xi, whose interpretation of the irrelevant "theatricality" of the play as a concession to spectators bored by the simple story has been influential in criticism. Another influential approach is that of H. Patin, *Etudes sur les Tragiques Grecs, Euripide II* (Paris 1894) 181-204, whose explanation of the play's elements as reflexive responses to political circumstances has been developed notably by E. Delebecque, *Euripide et la Guerre du Péloponnèse* (Paris 1951) 201-24, and by Roger Goossens, *Euripide et Athènes* (Brussels 1962) 417-66. Goossens finds in the play virtually an allegory recommending Nicias as the new Pericles.

4. G. Zuntz, *The Political Plays of Euripides* (Manchester 1955), rejects treating the elements of the play as reflections of current historical events, but nevertheless finds the secret of the play's structure in its accurate representation of the feelings of Athenians in 424 B.C.

5. *Essays in Euripidean Tragedy* (Toronto 1954) 112-81. Norwood's theory was a development of the more traditional criticism of the play in his *Greek Tragedy* (London 1920), where he lists as irrelevant to the play's simple theme the same sections he later excises from the Euripidean play — a striking reminder of the extent to which textual criticism is dependent on concepts of appropriateness and relevance which in turn rest on literary theory, whether tacit or explicit.

6. H. G. L. Greenwood, *Aspects of Euripidean Tragedy* (Cambridge 1953) 92-120.

7. H. D. F. Kitto, *Greek Tragedy*<sup>3</sup> (N.Y. 1961) 221-28.

8. D. J. Conacher, "Religious and Ethical Attitudes in Euripides' *Suppliants*," *TAPA* 87 (1956) 8-26.

9. J. W. Fitton, "The *Suppliant Women* and the *Heracleidai* of Euripides," *Hermes* 89 (1961) 430-61.

10. The *Proerosia* were sacrifices at Eleusis intended to insure that the crops would come to maturity, and may have been celebrated in behalf of Greece generally; see Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932) 68f.

11. Cf. Andocides I 110ff. Bruno Lavagnini, "Echi del Rito Eleusino in Euripide," *AJP* 68 (1947) 82-86, points out references in the *Suppliants* to the buildings at Eleusis, and a possible echo of the rites, elements which enhance feelings of religious awe and danger of pollution.



12. The alternate gestures of hands raised to head and outstretched toward the corpse are well described and illustrated by Maurice Emmanuel, *La Danse Grecque Antique d'après les monuments figurés* (Paris 1896) 269ff.

13. *Essays* (above, n. 5) 110-17. Though I do not agree with their conclusions, I have benefited from the discussions of the chorus by Grube (above, n. 1) 240ff, Wilamowitz, "Der Mütter Bittgang" in *Griechische Tragödien* I<sup>4</sup> (Berlin 1904) 220ff, and especially Josef Lammers, *Die Doppel und Halbchöre in der antiken Tragödie* (Diss., Emsdetten 1931) 94-101.

14. For the evidence see A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (Oxford 1953) 245-49.

15. Cf. Lammers, 97ff, Grégoire, Introduction p. 101. Peter Arnott, *Greek Scenic Conventions* (Oxford 1962) 137f, conceives the kommos as being sung by seven boys with six or seven urns and says a sevenfold division in the kommos makes this certain. But there are only five bodies of warriors, and hence five urns, one with the mingled ashes of Evadne and Capaneus. Though it is possible that the kommos, which is in three or six parts, is sung by a series of five children and five grandmothers, the single pair singing for the whole seems most likely.

16. See, for example, Grégoire on 236ff, Norwood (above, n.5) 144f, Nestle, *Euripides* (Stuttgart 1901) 422f, for three attempts to make the speech more simple and logical.

17. This is a climax in the clash of terminology between the two speakers: δῆμος 406, ὄχλος 411; πένης 408, πονηρός 424; πλοῦτος 407, ἀμείνων 423; and the implied ἡσυχία 509, δειλία 540, current pro- and anti-democratic language which the debate calls forth. Theseus gives Athens' own justification for engaging in the Peloponnesian War and makes use of the typical Athenian equation of tyranny and oligarchy; see A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* I (Oxford 1950) 231f, 454; J. H. Finley, Jr., *HSCP* 49 (1938) 45f; and Goossens (above, n. 3) 420-23. Goossens acutely points out that the version of the myth used by Euripides vicariously satisfies the Athenians' desire for vengeance on Thebes. However, the wisdom of the play, which Goossens does not recognize, lies in putting that vengefulness in perspective. Euripides uses echoes of contemporary problems to make his treatment concrete, but that does not mean that his plays are about specific contemporary problems rather than their universal implications. Gomme has some judicious remarks on the subject in his treatment of the sources for history (I 38f).

18. Pausanias 1.15.3, Plutarch, *Theseus* 35.

19. Euripides' audience might differ widely in their response, as they would to Croesus' casting blame for his own misjudgment on Apollo, Hdt. 1.87. Zuntz's proposal (p. 13), that the dignity of the sufferer has exalted Adrastus from the first and that the audience no longer blames him, ignores the results of the earlier confrontation of Theseus and Adrastus, where Adrastus proposed that his suffering exalted him and Theseus said that that was a naive point of view (195-218, cf. 513ff, 589-97).

20. It is generally assumed that Theseus is inviting Adrastus to address the youth of Athens. But νέοισιν ἀστῶν τῶνδ' (843) seems to me to be better referred to "the young sons of these, your fellow townsmen," i.e., the five children who have been on the stage throughout and who will receive their fathers' ashes. It is possible that the Epigonoι are seconded by other children of the dead (cf. 107), as the mothers of the Seven are by other mothers of the dead.

21. Kitto (above, n. 7) treats Theseus' words as irrelevant criticism of the conventional messenger's speech. Grégoire (on 849), who finds much of the

*Suppliants'* *raison d'être* in criticisms of Aeschylus' *Eleusinians*, finds meaning in the passage by relating it to a supposed Aeschylean report of the battle.

22. A satirical intent in the funeral speech has been recognized frequently since Wecklein (on 858), but as frequently denied, recently by Zuntz, pp. 13f.

23. For indications of the normal characterization of Tydeus in Attic drama see Euripides *Frag.* 537, a prediction of the cannibalistic pleasures of Tydeus, and Sophocles *Frag.* 799, where Odysseus twits Diomedes about his father's reputation.

24. See Murray's apparatus. Markland offers two arguments: (1) the word ἡμεῖς in 929 gives such force and emphasis as to indicate that the speaker of this eulogy is different from the previous one, and (2) the previous guest-friendship with Polyneices is not mentioned by Adrastus in 132ff. To the second, one may reply that neither is it mentioned by Theseus, even when he is complimenting Polyneices on leaving home rather than killing his brother (151). The first argument has no force when one ceases to ignore Theseus' injunction to Adrastus to speak the truth and speak from knowledge. The ἡμεῖς has a clear force and emphasis in validating what Adrastus says. It is fatuous and is intended to be so.

25. Euripides' *Electra* 907ff also glances at the tradition of speaking no ill of the dead. Theseus' withdrawal is clearer if one compares it with the first half of the play: there Theseus outspoke everyone (273 lines of the first 600, Aithra is second with 86 lines), ended each scene, and drew its moral. Herc Adrastus speaks 84 lines and draws the scene's moral, Theseus has 26 lines.

26. See, for example, Wilamowitz (above, n.13) 198, H. Strohm, *Euripides* (Munich 1957) 59f.

27. As R. Sauer, *Untersuchungen zu Euripides* (Leipzig 1931) 41f, observes, there is an important connection between the character given Capaneus in the *epitaphion* and the Evadne scene. However, it need not be seen as a contradiction of the facts set forth earlier in the play.

28. The contention by Greenwood (above, n.6), 102f, that Iphis' refusal to touch the bones casts doubt on the virtues of the Athenian expedition could only stand if Iphis were a different sort of character.

29. The MS reading at 1110 has been emended by editors on the basis of Plutarch and Marcus Antoninus' quotations, which differ from one another and from the MSS, to an injunction not to prolong life with food, drink, and magic. However, Iphis' words would seem to reflect on Theseus' speech about the gifts of the gods and the blessings of life, including medicine and augury (195ff). Iphis images such tampering as diverting the natural channel of life, which runs to death. The image of the water channel varies Theseus' metaphor of mingling pure and impure water as the source of disease and disaster and, with the following line, recalls the play's agricultural imagery. Line 1110 needs correction from what is probably a very old corruption to a gnome about self-indulgence but has not found it.

30. As Fraenkel, on *Agamemnon* 441, observes, this is more than a parallel, it is an obvious reference. Lines 1143ff suggest the *Choephoroi*. Fitton (above, n.9), 444, lists and comments on the unusual number of reminiscences of Aeschylus throughout the play—rightly, I think.

31. Cf. Conacher (n. 8) 26, who criticizes Athena for preferring an oath to a merely "moral" pact and speaks as though she were ordering the Epigonoi against Thebes.

## THE HOMERIC HYMN TO APHRODITE: AN ORAL ANALYSIS

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THE purpose of this paper is threefold. As a systematic application of Parry's technique of formulaic analysis to the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, it seeks, first, to supplement studies of the poem previous to Parry, especially those in which "Homeric" content was assayed;<sup>1</sup> as a formulaic index it should be useful in further study of the poem. Secondly, it seeks to provide detailed demonstration in support of Notopoulos' conclusions that the *Hymn* is the product of oral composition.<sup>2</sup> Literary interpretation of this poem (as well as the other major *Homeric Hymns*) should be grounded on a firm conclusion about its origins; for this reason it seems necessary to determine as conclusively as possible whether the poem is basically a written or, as seems to be the case, an oral work. Thirdly, it is hoped that the procedures used in this presentation of the formulaic elements contained in one poem in its entirety may prove to be a useful reference for future analyses of other poetry along similar lines. The importance for comparative purposes of establishing a set of uniform standards for studies of this kind cannot be too highly stressed.<sup>3</sup>

The plan of the following analysis is to isolate the formulaic elements in the *Hymn to Aphrodite*. Parry and others have demonstrated that the formula — the traditional unit of song — is not only the characteristic feature, but the *sine qua non*, of oral composition.<sup>4</sup> To determine whether a poem was originally oral or not, one must therefore be concerned primarily with the occurrence of formulaic diction, and the frequency with which formulae are found.

For the sake of clarity and convenience, I have divided the study into four parts, assigning the formulae discovered in the *Hymn* to four separate categories:

- I. Formulae in the *Hymn* which are also found in Homer;
- II. Formulae in the *Hymn* which are analogous to formulae found in Homer;
- III. Formulae found more than once within the *Hymn*;

IV. Formulae in the *Hymn* which are analogous to other formulae in the *Hymn*.<sup>5</sup>

I. FORMULAE IN THE *HYMN* WHICH ARE ALSO FOUND IN HOMER

In oral composition, where invention and originality consist mainly in selecting and combining the elements of a traditional style and diction, poets working within a particular tradition will draw to a great extent upon a common repertoire of formulae.<sup>6</sup> If, therefore, the *Hymn to Aphrodite* is an oral poem belonging to the same tradition which produced the Homeric epics, one would expect to find that a high percentage of the phrases in it are also found in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The following is a list of all those formulae in the *Hymn*, which it has in common with one or both of the Homeric epics.

In this list the Greek entry with corresponding line number is from the *Hymn*; the references to lines in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* follow.<sup>7</sup> These parallels are either exact or admit the following minor changes which render the formulae flexible without altering their metrical value: (a) change of endings; (b) change of tenses; (c) change of δέ to τε, or vice versa, or the omission of particles; (d) change of μου to σου, and the like.<sup>8</sup> Differences between the *Hymn* and Homer of a more complex nature are indicated parenthetically after the references to the Homeric parallel.

Phrases containing fewer than five syllables which are not noun-epithet combinations are placed in brackets and are not included in numerical tabulations. Strictly speaking a formula may be of any length, but Parry made "the distinction at this point because of the fact that while an expression of five syllables will command the hearer's attention by itself, one of four syllables is much less noticeable."<sup>9</sup> This restriction is made so as to eliminate as far as possible the number of word groups which may recur as the result of chance alone. I have cited certain phrases of less than five syllables either because they occur a significant number of times in Homer or because they always occupy an identical position in the hexameter line; or both. These facts do not of course rule out the possibility that the recurrence of these phrases is fortuitous, and therefore they are bracketed.

Unless otherwise indicated, the phrases cited from the *Hymn* occur in exactly the same positions in the line as their Homeric parallels. Numbers in parentheses following a *Hymn* reference signify that the position of the phrase in the line is different from that of some or all of its Homeric parallels. Thus, for example, in the first entry the "(10)"



directly following “γλυκὺν ἡμερον” indicates that this formula ends in the tenth syllable of the verse, as it does also in *Iliad* 3.446 and 14.328, although in 3.139 it ends in the eighth syllable.<sup>10</sup>

A single bracketed number appearing after parallel references to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* indicates the total number of times a given formula is found in the Homeric poems. This notation (as well as the designations “κτλ” and “passim”) is used only in cases where the parallels are so numerous as to make individual citation impracticable.

Where entire, or nearly entire, lines are paralleled in the Homeric epics with little or no change, I have noted the complete verse (or verses) in Homer, and I have also separated the *Hymn* lines into smaller formulaic units, citing the Homeric parallels for these. This has been possible to a greater or lesser extent in fifteen out of twenty-three examples. The purpose of noting these additional parallels is to demonstrate that the *Hymn* lines are not necessarily based on specific Homeric verses, but rather that the smaller formulae of which these particular Homeric verses are composed were themselves well known as parts of the oral poet’s formulaic resources, and could be recombined to form the same line on different occasions. Moreover, of the eight lines which cannot be broken down into component formulae, verse 68 is found three times in the *Iliad*; verse 99 once in each epic; and verse 235 three times in each epic. These lines, by virtue of their repetition in Homer, are seen to be formulae, and should be treated in the same manner as the shorter formulaic expressions.

I have included those cases in which only one Homeric parallel can be found for a phrase in the *Hymn*, for it is largely due to the hazards of time and chance that comparatively little poetry has survived from the Homeric period. If there were more, we should very likely find other instances in which many of these seemingly lone expressions were used. Furthermore, the occurrences in the *Hymn* of such phrases reveal them as formulae, since here we find them in use, for no unusual effect of sense or wording, a second time.<sup>11</sup>

2. γλυκὺν ἡμερον (10) Γ446, Ε328; Γ139 (8).  
ἡμερον ὦρσεν (12) Ψ14; Ψ108, 153, Ω507, κτλ. (10).
3. καταβηγῶν ἀνθρώπων Ζ123, γ114, ι502, ρ587, τ285 [7].
6. εὔστεφάνου Κυthereίης θ288, σ193.
7. οὐδ’ ἀπατήσῃ δ348, ρ139.
8. αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς Α222, κτλ. [13].  
γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην Β166, 172, Θ357, α156, κτλ.

10. ἔργον Ἄρηος *A*734.
11. ὑσμῖναί τε μάχαι τε *λβ*12.  
καὶ ἀγλαὰ ἔργ' *κ*223, *ν*289, *ο*418, *π*158.
12. τέκτονας ἀνδρας ( $5\frac{1}{2}$ ) *Z*315, *N*390, *Π*483 (12).
13. καὶ ἄρματα ποικίλα χαλκῷ *Δ*226, *K*322, 393.
14. ἐν μεγάροισιν *A*418, *Z*371, 421, *α*432, *β*299, *γ*401, κτλ.
15. ἀγλαὰ ἔργ' (3) see 11 (9).  
ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θεῖσα *π*291; *A*55, *ε*427, *ο*234 ( $5\frac{1}{2}$ ).
16. Ἀρτέμιδα χρυσηλάκατον κελαδεινήν *Π*183. χρυσηλάκατον κελαδεινήν *Υ*70.
17. ἐν φιλότῃ ( $5\frac{1}{2}$ ) *H*302, *E*314, 331, 360; *B*232, *E*237, *Ω*130, *θ*313 (12).  
φιλομειδῆς Ἀφροδίτῃ *Γ*424, *Δ*10, *E*375, *E*211, *Υ*40, *θ*362.
18. οὔρεσι θήρας ἐναίρειν *Φ*485.
20. [πτόλις ἀνδρῶν (12) *P*737; *ο*384 (8) . . . πόνος ἀνδρῶν (*v.l.*) *N*239, *Π*726, *P*82.]
22. τέκετο Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης *Δ*59.
23. Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο *B*348, 491, 598, *Γ*426, *E*396, κτλ. [18].
24. Ποσειδάων καὶ Ἀπόλλων *M*17, 34.
25. [οὐκ ἔθελεν *Δ*300, *Ψ*88, *η*305.]  
στερεῶς ἀπέειπεν *I*510.
26. (ᾧμοσε δὲ) μέγαν ὄρκον *T*113 (ἀλλ' ὅμοσεν) μέγαν ὄρκον.  
ὁ δὴ τετελεσμένος ἐστίν *A*388, *Σ*4, *τ*547. τετελεσμένος ἐστίν *Ξ*196, κτλ. [23].
27. ἀψαμένη κεφαλῆς *Ω*712.  
πατὴρ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο *H*60, *A*66, *X*221. Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο see 23.
28. διὰ θεᾶων *E*381, *α*14, κτλ. [33].
29. πατὴρ Ζεὺς (4) *Δ*235, *E*33, *P*630 (8).  
[καλὸν γέρας *λ*184 (καλὸν γέρας).]  
ἀντὶ γάμοιο (12) *υ*307 ( $5\frac{1}{2}$ ).
30. κατ' ἄρ' ἔζετο *A*68, *ι*01, *B*76, *H*354, 365, *β*224, κτλ. [11].  
πίαρ ἐλοῦσα *A*550 (ἐλέσθαι).
32. πᾶσι βροτοῖσι ( $5\frac{1}{2}$ ) *ο*255 (12).  
βροτοῖσι θεῶν *I*159.
33. οὐδ' ἀπατήσαι see 7.
34. ἔστ' Ἀφροδίτην *E*248, *Υ*209.
35. οὔτε θεῶν μακάρων οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων = *ι*521; *A*339 (πρὸς τε for οὔτε). οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων *Σ*404, *ε*32, *η*247.
36. νόον ἤγαγε (8) *K*391 (10).
37. ὅς τε μέγιστος (4) *ο*37, *ε*185 (12).  
ἐστὶ μεγίστης (8) *B*118, *ε*4, κτλ. (12) [8].  
ἔμμορε τιμῆς *A*278, *Ο*189, *ε*335, *λ*338.

38. πυκινὰς φρένας E294, Ω282, 674, τ353.
40. κασιγνήτης ἀλόχου τε Π432, Σ356.
41. εἶδος ἀρίστη (5½) B715, Γ124, Z252, N365, 378, η57 (12).  
ἐν ἀθανάτησι θεῇσι A520, H102, O107, Φ476, κτλ. (ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι).
42. τέκετο Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης see 22.
43. Ζεὺς δ' ἄφθιτα μῆδεα εἰδώς Ω88. μῆδεα εἰδώς H278, P325 [7].
44. ἄλοχον . . . κέδν' εἰδυῖαν υ57, ψ182, 232. κέδν' εἰδυῖαν α428, τ346.
45. γλυκὺν ἡμερον ἔμβαλε θυμῷ Γ139. γλυκὺν ἡμερον see 2. ἔμβαλε θυμῷ N82, Π529, τ485, ψ260.
46. ὄφρα τάχιστα (12) Δ465, E690, I621, κτλ. [11]; Δ269 (3½); Θ9 (5½).
48. πᾶσι θεοῖσιν Z140, 200, ξ366.
49. ἦδὺν γελοήσασα σ111 (ἦδὺν γελώωντες); π354, σ35 (ἦδὺν δ' ἄρ' ἐκγελάσας).  
φιλομμειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη see 17.
52. καταθνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις see 3.
53. γλυκὺν ἡμερον ἔμβαλε θυμῷ see 45.
54. ἐν ἀκροπόλοις ὄρεσιν (7) E523, τ205 (ἐν ἀκροπόλοισιν ὄρεσσιν) (12).  
πολυπιδάκου Ἰδης E157, 307, Υ59, 218, Ψ117.
55. βουκολέεσκεν βοῦς (5) Φ448 (βοῦς βουκολέεσκες) (12).  
δέμας ἀθανάτοισιν ἑοικώς γ468, θ14, ψ163 (δ. α. ὁμοῖος).
56. φιλομμειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη see 17.
57. κατὰ φρένας ἡμερος εἶλεν Δ89 (περὶ φ. ἱ. αἰρεί). ἡμερος εἶλεν Γ446, E328 (ἱ. αἰρεί).
59. ἐς Πάφον· ἔνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος βωμός τε θυώδης=θ363 (θυήεις).  
ἔνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος βωμός τε θυώδης Θ48 (θυήεις). τέμενος βωμός τε θυώδης Ψ148 (θυήεις).
60. ἔνθ' ἢ γ' εἰσελθοῦσα θύρας ἐπέθηκε φαεινὰς=E169. θύρας ἐπέθηκε φαεινὰς φ45. θύρας . . . φαεινὰς ζ19, κ230, 256, 312.
61. ἔνθα δέ μιν Χάριτες λοῦσαν καὶ χρῖσαν ἐλαίῳ=θ364. λοῦσαν καὶ χρῖσαν ἐλαίῳ Ω587, δ49, θ454, ρ88, ψ154, ω366.
62. ἀμβρότῳ, οἷα θεοὺς ἐπενήνοθεν αἰὲν ἐόντας=θ365. θεοὺς . . . αἰὲν ἐόντας α263, 378, β143, γ147, κτλ.
63. ἀμβροσίῳ ἔδανῳ, τό ρά οἱ τεθυωμένον ἦεν=E172.
64. πάντα περὶ χροῖ H207; [περὶ χροῖ E383, ω467, 500, κτλ.].  
περὶ χροῖ εἴματα Ψ67, π210, ρ203, 338, τ218, ω158.  
εἴματα καλά ζ111, ν218.
65. φιλομμειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη see 17.
67. ὕψι μετὰ νέφεσιν π264 (ὕ. περ ἐν νεφέεσσι).  
\*ρίμφα πρήσσουσα κέλευθον E282, Ψ501, ν83.

68. "Ιδην δ' ἵκανεν πολυπίδακα, μητέρα θηρῶν = Θ47, Ε283, Ο151.  
 69. [βῆ δ' ἰθύς Θ322, α119, ρ325.]  
 70. χαροποί τε λέοντες λ611.  
 72. [μετὰ φρεσί Δ245, Ι434, κτλ. (19).]  
 73. [ἐν στήθεσσι (5½) Ι554, Κ9, Ν732, π275, υ22, κτλ.; Α83, Ρ470, β125, 304 (3½) passim.]  
 δι δ' ἄμα πάντες (12) Θ8 (ἄλλ' ἄ. π.); Γ95, Η92, 398 (ἄρα) (5½).  
 74. κοιμήσαντο κατὰ κ479; Α476, μ32 (κ. παρὰ).  
 76. [τὸν δ' εὔρε Ζ321, Κ34, Ι186, Σ372, δ3, κτλ.]  
 οἶον ἀπ' ἄλλων ι192.  
 77. θεῶν ἀπο κάλλος ἔχοντα θ457. ἀπο κάλλος ἔχοντα ζ18.  
 79. οἶος ἀπ' ἄλλων see 76.  
 80. ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα Β779, Ε223, Θ107, Ζ2, Ρ394.  
 81. στή δ' αὐτοῦ προπάροιθε Ε297. στή . . . προπάροιθε Ψ582, Ω286, ο150.  
 Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη Γ374, Ε131, 312, 820, Ε193, κτλ. [9].  
 82. παρθένω ἀδμήτῃ (5) ζ109, 228 (παρθένος ἀδμής) (12).  
 καὶ εἶδος ὁμοίη ζ16.  
 83. ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι νοήσας Ω294, 312.  
 85. εἶδος τε μέγεθος καὶ Β58, ζ152, λ337, σ249, ω374.  
 εἴματα σιγαλόεντα Χ154.  
 86. φαεινότερον πυρὸς αὐγῆς Σ610.  
 87. ἐπιγναμπτὰς ἑλικας κάλυκας τε Σ401 (γναμπτὰς ἑ. κ. τ.).  
 88. ἀπαλῇ δειρῇ Τ285.  
 89. καλοὶ χρύσειοι ω3.  
 90. θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι Ε725, Κ439, κτλ. [8].  
 91. ἔπος δέ μιν ἀντίον ἠῦδα Ε170. ἀντίον ἠῦδα passim.  
 92. τάδε δώμαθ' ἱκάνεις υ295, φ313. δώμαθ' ἱκάνεις θ32.  
 93. χρυσέῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ Χ470, Τ282, Ω699, θ337, 342, ρ37, τ54.  
 94. γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη see 8.  
 95. [δεῦρ' ἦλυθες δ810.]  
 96. καὶ ἀθάνατοι καλέονται Ε342.  
 97. ἢ τις νυμφάων αἶ τ' ἄλσεα καλὰ νέμονται = Υ8 (οὔτ' ἄρα for ἢ τις).  
 99. καὶ πηγὰς ποταμῶν καὶ πίσεα ποιήεντα = Υ9, ζ124.  
 101. ἱερὰ καλὰ (12) Δ727, Ψ195; η191, λ130, ψ277 (5½).  
 102. θυμὸν ἔχοντα Ο710, Π219, 266, 355, λ39, ψ15, 97, κτλ.  
 103. μετὰ Τρώεσσιν (5½) Ε86, 834; Ε702, Ζ445, Σ130, Υ126, δ254, ξ367 (9½).  
 ἔμμεναι ἄνδρα Ζ488, Ψ470, ζ200, σ261.  
 105. ζῶειν καὶ ὄρᾶν φάος ἡέλιοιο Σ61, 442, Ω558, δ540, 833, κ498, ξ44, υ207. φάος ἡέλιοιο passim.



106. καὶ γήραος οὐδὸν ἰκέσθαι (12) ψ212. γήραος οὐδὸν ο246 (12); οὐδὸν ἰκέσθαι η83 (12).
107. τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη = Ε193. τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα Α121, κτλ. [57]. Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη see 81.
109. οὐ τίς τοι θεὸς εἰμι· τί μ' ἀθανάτησιν εἵσκει; = π187,
110. δέ με γείνατο μήτηρ Α280, Ζ24, Φ109.
111. ὄνομα κλυτὸς (8) ι364; Χ51, τ183 (10).  
εἴ που ἀκούεις α94, γ83, ο403, ρ106.
113. [σάφα οἶδα (12) ρ307; Ο632 (εἰδώς), α202 (εἰδώς), β108, ω144 (ῥῆθι); Υ201, 432 (9½); ρ153, 373, ω404 (5½).]
114. ἣ δὲ διὰ πρό Ε66, Υ276.
116. [εἴ οἶδα (12) α174 (εἰδῶ), δ645 (εἰδῶ), η317 (εἰδῆς), λ442 (εἰδῆς); ξ365 (9½); Η237 (5½).]
117. νῦν δέ μ' ἀνήρπαξε ο427 (ἀλλά μ' ἄ.).  
χρυσόρραπις Ἀργειφόντης κ331.
118. ἐκ χοροῦ Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσηλακάτου κελαδεινῆς = Π183. Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσηλακάτου δι122. χρυσηλακάτου κελαδεινῆς Υ70.
119. καὶ παρθένοι ἀλφεισίβοιαι Σ593.
120. ἀπείριτος ἐστεφάνωτο κ195.
121. χρυσόρραπις Ἀργειφόντης see 117.
122. καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων see 3.
125. φυσιζόου αἴης Γ243, λ301.
126. παρὰ λέχεσιν α366, σ213 (π. λεχέεσσι).
127. κουριδίην ἄλοχον (5) Α114, Η392, Τ298, ξ245; Ν626 (7).  
ἀγλαὰ τέκνα (9½) Β871, λ285, ξ223 (12); Σ337, Ψ23, λ249 (5½).  
τέκνα τεκεῖσθαι χ324.
128. αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ δεῖξε = ε241. αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ Δ124, Ζ178, κτλ. [32].
129. ἀπέβη κρατὺς Ἀργειφόντης ε148. κρατὺς Ἀργειφόντης Π181, Ω345, ε49.
130. κρατερὴ δέ μοι ἔπλετ' ἀνάγκη κ273. κρατερὴ . . . ἀνάγκη Ζ458.
131. γουνάζομαι ἠδὲ τοκῆων Χ345 (γ. μηδὲ τ.). ἠδὲ τοκῆων Γ140, Ο663, α170, κτλ. [8].
132. οὐ μὲν γάρ κε κακοὶ τοιόνδε τέκοιεν δ64 (ἐπεὶ οὐ κ. κ. τ. τ.).
134. κεδνὰ ἰδυίη see 44.
- 136α. ἥ ἐ καὶ οὐκί Β238, 300, κτλ.; Β349 (εἴ τε κ. ο.).
137. Φρύγας αἰολοπῶλους Γ185 (Φ. . . αἰ.).
138. κηδομένη περ Α586, Ε382, Ω104, σ178.
139. χρυσόν τε ἄλις ἐσθῆτά θ' ὕφαντήν ν136, π231. χρυσόν τε ἄλις ἐσθῆτά τε ε38, Ψ341.
140. καὶ ἀγλαὰ δέχθαι ἄποινα Α23, 377. δέχθαι ἄποινα Ζ46, Α131, Ω555.

142. καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν ε447, π265. ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν A520, E882, κτλ.
143. Ὡς εἰποῦσα θεὰ γλυκὺν ἡμερον ἔμβαλε θυμῶ = Γ139. [Ὡς εἰποῦσα passim]. Ὡς εἰποῦσα θεά ν352, 366. γλυκὺν ἡμερον ἔμβαλε θυμῶ see 2 and 45.
144. ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν H108, κτλ. [43].
145. δέ σε γείνατο μήτηρ see 110.
146. ὄνομα κλυτός see 111.  
ὡς ἀγορεύεις I41, P180, Ω373, δ157, ν147, ξ116, κτλ. [12].
147. ἐνθάδ' ἱκάνεις α173, ζ206, η24, λ160, ω328, κτλ. [12].
148. ἡματα πάντα Θ539, κτλ. [25].
149. θεῶν οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων Σ404, η247. οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων ε32, ι521; A339 (πρὸς τε θ. ἀ.).
150. φιλότῃ μιγῆναι τ266.
151. [αὐτίκα νῦν (3) ε205, ι356, σ203, υ63; ν364 (5).]  
αὐτὸς Ἀπόλλων P322.
152. βέλεα στονόεντα (12) P374, ω180; Θ159, O590 (9½).
153. γύναι εἰκυῖα θεῇσι A638, T286. εἰκυῖα θεῇσι η291.
154. δύναι δόμον Ἀῖδος εἴσω Γ322, H131, A263. δόμον Ἀῖδος εἴσω E457, Ω246, ι524, λ150, 627, ψ252.
155. [Ὡς εἰπὼν δ570 passim.]  
φιλομμειδῆς Ἀφροδίτῃ see 17.
156. ὄμματα καλὰ Ψ66, α208.
157. ὅθι περ πάρος δ627, ρ169.
158. αὐτὰρ ὑπερθεν E724, H101, M398, 446, N682, Ω797, υ2.
160. τοὺς αὐτὸς κατέπεφνεν λ574.
162. πρῶτον ἀπὸ χροός N440 (πρόσθεν ἀ. χ.), E170. [ἀπὸ χροός Δ130, N640, O534, ζ220].
163. πόρπας τε γναμπτάς θ' ἔλικας κάλυκας τε καὶ ὄρμους = Σ401; (see 87).
164. εἴματα σιγαλόεντα see 85.
165. κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ θρόνου υ96.  
ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροῆλου Σ389, η162, κ314, 366. θρόνου ἀργυροῆλου θ65, χ341.
166. θεῶν ἰότητι T9, η214, λ341, μ190, ξ198, π232, ρ119.
167. [θεῶ βροτός B821.]  
οὐ σάφα εἰδώς (12) ρ307 (οἶδα); ρ153, 373 (οἶδα) (5½). [σάφα εἰδώς see 113].
169. καὶ ἴφια μῆλα I466, Ψ166, μ263 (δὲ ἴ. μ.); E556, Θ505, 545, κτλ. [9] (12).

170. ἐπὶ γλυκὺν ὕπνον ἔχενε β395; σ188 (κατὰ γ. ὕ. ἔ). γλυκὺν ὕπνον  
η289, σ199. ὕπνον ἔχενε λ245.
171. εἴματα καλά see 64.
172. πάντα περὶ χροῖ see 64.  
δῖα θεάων see 28.
175. ἐϋστεφάνου Κυthereίης see 6.
176. ἐξ ὕπνον τ' ἀνέγειρεν (5½) K138; ψ16, 22 (12).  
ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν see 144.
178. καὶ φράσαι εἴ τοι χ158 (κ. φ. ἢ τις).
179. ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι νοήσας see 83.
180. Ὡς φάθ'· ὁ δ' ἐξ ὕπνοιο μάλ' K162. [Ὡς φάθ', ὁ δ' K177, 328,  
O478, ε451, κτλ.].  
ἐμμαπέως ὑπάκουσεν ξ485.
181. τε καὶ ὄμματα κάλ' Ψ66, α208; see 156.
182. ἔτραπεν ἄλλῃ E187.
183. καλύψατο καλὰ πρόσωπα θ85 (κάλυψε δὲ κ. π.). καλὰ πρόσωπα  
T285, ο332.
184. καὶ μιν λισσόμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα = χ311, 366. λισσόμενος  
ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα Φ368. ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα [109].
185. ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν Γ169, E770, K275, β155, δ269, ο484, κτλ. [17].
186. ἔγνων ὥς θεὸς ἦσθα X10.  
νημερτὲς εἶπες Γ204; γ19, ε300, λ96, 137 (νημερτέα εἶπη).
188. ζῶντ' ἀμενηνόν E887.  
ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν α95, 391, γ78, δ710.
191. Τὸν δ' ἡμίβετ' ἔπειτα Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη see 107.
192. καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων see 3.
193. θάρσει, μηδέ τι σῆσι μετὰ φρεσὶ δείδιθι λίην = δ825 (πάγχυ for  
σῆσι). θάρσει, μηδέ τι Δ184, K383. σῆσι μετὰ φρεσὶ Σ463, ν362,  
π436, ω357 (μ. φ. σ.). [μετὰ φρεσὶ see 72].
194. παθέειν κακόν Φ442, γ113.  
ἐξ ἐμέθεν γε (12) A525 (5½); Φ217 (3½).
195. φίλος ἐσσι θεοῖσι Ω749, ω92.
196. φίλος υἱός (5½) N299, Ψ289, β17, γ111, κτλ. [12]; (12) [16];  
(9½) [3].  
Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει Υ230 (T. ἄνακτα).
199. βροτοῦ ἀνέρος Σ85.
200. καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων see 3.
201. ὑμετέρης γενεῆς (7) π117 (ἡμετέρην); Z151, Υ214 (ἡμετέρη) (5).
202. μητίετα Ζεύς A175, B197, 324, Z198, κτλ. [19].
203. ἴν' ἀθανάτοισι μετείη Υ235, ο251.

206. χρυσέου ἐκ κρητῆρος Ψ219.  
νέκταρ ἐρυθρόν T38, ε93.
207. πένθος ἄλαστον (5½) Ω105 (3½); α342 (12).  
οὐδέ τι ἦδει (12) B486, K100, A657, N674, γ184, δ109, λ463,  
π475, Ψ202; A343 (3½); δ771 (5½).
208. φίλον υἷόν see 196.
209. διαμπερές ἥματα πάντα δ209. ἥματα πάντα see 148.
210. υἷος ἄποινα B230.
211. ἵππους ἀρσίποδας Γ327, Ψ475 (ἵπποι ἀερώποδες).
212. εἶπεν δὲ ἕκαστα γ361.
213. διάκτορος Ἀργειφόντης Φ497, κτλ. [16].
214. ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήρως Θ539, ε136, η257, ψ336.  
ἴσα θεοῖσιν λ304, 484.
215. αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ Ζηνὸς ὃ γ' ἔκλυεν ἀγγελιάων=ε150 (ἧ' for αὐτάρ;  
ἐπέκλυεν for ὃ γ' ἔκλυεν). αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ see 128.
216. οὐκέτ' ἔπειτα (3½) K453, M73, Φ565, ρ321; μ56, ρ303 (5½).  
γεγῆθαι δὲ φρένας Λ683; ζ106 (γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα).  
[φρένας ἔνδον (12) λ337, ξ178, σ249, ω382 (9½).]
218. χρυσόθρονος ἥρπασεν Ἡώς ο250. χρυσόθρονος . . . Ἡώς κ541,  
μ142, ο56, υ91.
219. ὑμετέρης γενεῆς (5) see 201.  
ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισι A265, Λ60, ο414, φ14, 37.
220. [βῆ δ' ἔμεν E167, N242, M299, Ξ134, 384, ζ130, χ400.]  
κελαινεφέα Κρονίωνα A397, Z267, Λ78, Ω290.
221. ἀθανάτόν τ' εἶναι ε209.  
ἥματα πάντα see 148.
222. ἐκρήνηνεν ἐέλωρ A41, 504 (κρήνηνον); A455, Θ242, Π238 ἐπικρήνηνον);  
γ418, ρ242 (κρήνηνα').
223. νηπίη, οὐδ' ἐνόησε μετὰ φρεσί Υ264 (κατὰ φ.). νηπίη, οὐδ' ἐνόησε  
(8) X445; ι442, χ32 (12). [μετὰ φρεσί see 72].
225. πολυήρατος ἦβη (12) ο366 (ἦβην πολυήρατον) (8).
226. Ἡοῖ . . . χρυσοθρόνῳ ἡριγενεΐη This noun, in combination with  
one or the other (but not both) of these epithets, occurs often  
in Homer and with considerable variety in position; but not as  
here. Compare κ541, ο56 and A477, etc., and see verse 218.  
χρυσοθρόνῳ ἡριγενεΐη ψ347.
227. Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοῆς Σ240.  
ἐπὶ πείρασι γαίης ι284. πείρασι γαίης Ξ200, 301, δ563.
231. ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν A396, E270, 805, H148, Θ520, κτλ. [47].
232. εἶματα καλά (9½) see 64 (12).
233. κατὰ γῆρας ἔπειγεν Ψ623.



234. οὐδέ τι κινῆσαι μελέων δύνατ' οὐδ' ἀναεῖραι=θ298 (ἦν for δύνατ').  
 235. ἦδε δέ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνεται βουλή=B5, K17, E161, ι318, 424, λ230.  
 236. θύρας δ' ἐπέθηκε φαεινὰς see 60.  
 237. ῥεῖ ἄσπετος Σ403 (ῥέεν).  
 οὐδέ τι κῖκος λ393.  
 238. ἔσθ' οἷ πάρος ἔσκειν ἐνὶ γναμποῖσι μέλεσσιν=Λ669; λ394 (οἷη περ for ἔσθ' οἷη); φ283 (ἰς for ἔσθ'). ἐνὶ γναμποῖσι μέλεσσιν Ω359, ν398, 430.  
 239. οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ γε σέ I517, Ω297.  
 ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν see 41.  
 240. ἀθανάτον τ' εἶναι see 221.  
 ἥματα πάντα see 148.  
 241. εἶδος τε δέμας τε θ116, λ469, σ251, τ124, ω17.  
 242. πόσις κεκλημένος εἴης ζ244; B260 (πατήρ κ. ε.).  
 243. οὐκ ἂν ἔπειτα Γ223, κτλ.  
 ἄχος πυκινὰς φρένας Θ124, 316, P83 (ἄ. πύκασε φ.).  
 πυκινὰς φρένας ἀμφικαλύπτει E294. πυκινὰς φρένας see 38.  
 φρένας ἀμφικαλύπτει Γ442.  
 246. ὃ τε στυγέουσι θεοὶ περ Υ65. ὃ τε στυγέουσι H112, O167, 183.  
 247. ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν see 41.  
 248. ἔσσεται ἥματα πάντα διαμπερές Π499. ἥματα πάντα (5½) N826; see 148 (12).  
 εἵνεκα σείο Z525, ζ156; Ψ608 (εἵνεκ' ἐμείο).  
 253. μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν A503, 525, κτλ. [8].  
 πολλὸν ἀάσθην T113.  
 254. οὐκ ὀνομαστόν [v.l.] (5½) τ260, 597 (12).  
 255. βροτῶ εὐνηθεῖσα B821; Π176 (θεῶ).  
 256. τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ δὴ πρῶτον δ414.  
 ἴδη φάος ἡελίοιο see 105.  
 259. θνητοῖς οὐτ' ἀθανάτοισιν M242, Υ64 (θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀ.).  
 260. εἶδαρ ἔδουσι ι84, λ123, ψ270.  
 261. μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν see 253.  
 [καλὸν χορόν μ318 (καλοὶ χοροί).]  
 262. εὖσκοπος Ἀργεῖφόντης Ω24, 109, α38, η137.  
 263. μίσγοντ' ἐν φιλότῃ (5½) B232 (μῖσγειν) (12). ἐν φιλότῃ see 17.  
 265. ἐπὶ χθονὶ βωτιανείρῃ τ408 (ἀνὰ χ. β.); Γ89, 195, 265, Z213, κτλ.  
 (ἐ. χ. πουλυβοτείρῃ). [ἐπὶ χθονὶ passim].  
 267. δέ ἐ κικλήσκουσιν δ355, ι366.  
 269. ἀλλ' ὅτε κεν δὴ Θ180, δ420, ο446.  
 270. [ἐπὶ χθονὶ see 265.]

272. λείποι φάος ἡέλιαιο Σ11; λ93 (λιπών). φάος ἡέλιαιο see 105.  
 274. τὸν μὲν ἐπὴν δὴ πρῶτον see 256.  
 πολυήρατος ἦβη see 225.  
 276. [μετὰ φρεσί see 72.]  
 278. τὸν μὲν ἐπὴν δὴ πρῶτον see 256.  
 280. ποτὶ Ἴλιον ἡνεμόεσσαν Γ305, Θ499, κτλ. [7].  
 281. καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων see 3.  
 282. φίλον νιόν see 196.  
 283. ὥς σε κελεύω δ485, θ347, 402, κ516, κτλ. [9].  
 285. ὄρος καταειμένον ὕλη ν351. καταειμένον ὕλη τ431.  
 286. ἄφρονι θυμῷ φ105.  
 287. ἐν φιλότῃ (3½) see 17 and 263 (5½).  
 εὔστεφάνῳ Κυthereίῃ see 6.  
 288. βαλέει ψολόεντι κεραυνῷ ψ330; ω539 (ἀφίει ψ. κ.).  
 289. φρεσὶ σῆσι νοήσας Υ310, γ26.  
 290. ἴσχεο μηδ' ὀνόμαινε λ251 (12). μηδ' ὀνόμαινε B488, δ240, λ328,  
 517 (οὐδ' ὀ.).  
 ἐποπίζεο μῆνιν ε146.  
 291. [ᾠς εἰποῦς' see 143.]  
 292. [Χαῖρε θεά K462.]

The total number of formulae of five syllables or more found both in the *Hymn to Aphrodite* and in one or both of the Homeric poems is 273, including repetitions.<sup>12</sup> These formulae are contained in 220 (75½%) of the *Hymn's* lines and occupy about 44¼% of the poem's metra.<sup>13</sup>

In only 21 cases out of 272 did I fail to find positional parallels in Homer.<sup>14</sup> This number does not seem sufficiently large for the poet of the *Hymn* to be criticized on the grounds of incorrect use of formulae, for there are exceptions to the rule in Homer also.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, in seven of these instances there is only one Homeric parallel on which to base a comparison, and in another eight cases two parallels.<sup>16</sup>

## II. FORMULAE IN THE *HYMN* WHICH ARE ANALOGOUS TO FORMULAE FOUND IN HOMER

Parry isolated two basic types of formula: the individual repeated type which bears little or no resemblance to any other expression "as far as we know," and "that which is like one or more" phrases "which express a similar idea in more or less the same words."<sup>17</sup> This second

variety can be grouped into systems containing "phrases which have the same metrical value and which are enough alike in thought and words to leave no doubt that the poet who used them knew them not only as single formulas, but also as formulas of a certain type."<sup>18</sup>

Parry demonstrated that the patterns of diction to be found in the Homeric epics could not be the creation of one or even of several poets, but must be the product of a long tradition of oral composition.<sup>19</sup> Lord went on to stress the great need in oral composition for the poet to be able to create new formulae. The only way for him to form new phrases in the very process of singing is by creating them on the analogy of other formulae he knows. He does this by substituting different words in the patterns which the remembered and repeated formulae have impressed on his memory.<sup>20</sup>

The following list contains those formulae in the *Hymn* which are not found in the Homeric poems, but which sufficiently resemble Homeric phrases in sound, rhythm, syntax, and meaning as to make it seem probable that the poet of the *Hymn* created them on the analogy of others already in his formulaic vocabulary.<sup>21</sup>

Following Parry's example I have included in this list only those phrases from the *Hymn* and from Homer "in which not only the metre and the parts of speech are the same, but in which also at least one important word or group of words is identical."<sup>22</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, the examples all occupy the same position in the line, and the parts of speech occur in the same order. The only metrical difference admitted without special notice is the substitution of spondee for dactyl and vice versa.

As in Section I above, the first entry and corresponding line reference are from the *Hymn*. The phrases arranged directly beneath are examples of analogous formulae found in Homer. Each word group from the *Hymn*, then, together with its Homeric parallel(s), forms what Parry called a formulaic system of *schematization*.

1. Μοῦσά μοι ἔννεπε ἔργα  
    "Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε μούσα α1  
    πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης  
    φιλομειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη Γ424, Δ110, κτλ.  
    (Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη Γ374, Ε131, κτλ.)
7. τρισσὸς δ' οὐ δύναται  
    δοιὼν δ' οὐ δύναμαι Γ236

- δ' οὐ δύναται πεπιθεῖν (7)  
 οὐ δύναμαι βαλέειν Θ299  
 δ' οὐ δύναμαι ιδέειν Γ236; X47 (5)  
 δύναμαι ιδέειν Ρ643, Ψ463
9. πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης see 1.
11. ἔργ' ἀλεγύνειν  
 ἄνδρ' ἀλεγύνειν λ186  
 δαῖτ' ἀλέγνουν ν23
19. φόρμινγγές τε χοροί τε . . .  
 . . . κίθαρῖς τε χοροί τε θ248
20. ἄλσεά τε σκιάοντα  
 οὔρεά τε σκιάοντα Α157
21. αἰδοίῃ κούρη  
 αἰδοίῃ ταμίῃ α139, δ55, η175, κτλ.  
 ἔργ' Ἀφροδίτης  
 δῶρ' Ἀφροδίτης Γ54
23. βουλῇ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο  
 Μοῦσαι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο Β491  
 κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο Β598, Ε733, Ζ420; κούρη Δ. αἰ. δ752  
 υἱὸς Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο Ε396
33. τάων οὐ δύναται πεπιθεῖν (see 7)  
 τοῦτον δ' οὐ δύναμαι βαλέειν Θ299
36. νόον ἥγαγε (8) see K391 (10)  
 νόον ἔτραπεν τ479  
 στρατὸν ἥγαγε Δ179  
 δόλον ἥγαγε θ494  
 θεὸς ἥγαγε σ37
38. πυκινὰς φρένας ἔξαπαφούσα  
 πυκινὰς φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψεν Ξ294  
 φρένας ἀμφιβέβηκεν θ541
39. ῥηϊδίως συνέμιξε  
 ῥηϊδίως { συνέαξε Δ114  
 ἐκέδασσεν Ρ283  
 μεθέλεσκε θ376  
 ἐτάνυσσε φ328, 407, ω177



44. αἰδοίην ἄλοχον (5)  
 κουριδίην ἄλοχον A114, H392, T298, ξ245  
 αἰδοίης ἐκυρῆς X451  
 αἰδοίη ταμίη α139, δ55, κτλ. (7)
58. νηὸν ἔδυνεν  
 γαῖαν ἐδύτην Z19  
 τεύχε' ἔδυνον ω498
71. ἄρκτοι παρδάλιές τε θααί  
 θώων παρδαλίων τε λύκων N103 (Note the reversed positions of  
 the parts of speech.)
72. τέρπετο θυμόν  
 ἦνδανε θυμῷ A24, 378, O674, κ373  
 εὔαδε θυμῷ π28  
 ἔμβαλε θυμῷ Γ139, N82, Π529, τ485, ψ260 (see 45, 53, 143)
73. ἐν στήθεσσι βάλ' ἥμερον  
 ἐν στήθεσσι τιθεῖ νόον N732
77. Ἀγχίσην ἥρωα (5½)  
 Λαέρτην ἥρωα α189; β99, τ144, ω134 (Λαέρτη ἥρωϊ)  
 Πατρόκλῳ ἥρωϊ Ψ151, 747; P137, 706 (9½)  
 Ἀτρεΐδῃ ἥρωϊ I613
80. πωλεῖτ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα  
 φοίτων ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα B779
91. Ἀγχίσην δ' ἔρος εἶλεν  
 Ἀτρεΐδην δ' ἄχος εἶλε N581  
 ἥρωας δ' ἄχος εἶλε φ299  
 σκότος εἶλε E47, N672, Π607  
 δέος εἶλεν Δ421, ω533
92.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{χαῖρε ἄνασσ'} \\ \text{χαῖρε γύναι λ248} \\ \text{χαῖρε πάτερ θ408, σ122, υ199} \\ \text{(ἀλλὰ ἄνασσ' γ380, ζ175)} \end{array} \right\}$
100.  $\begin{array}{c} \text{περιφαινομένῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ} \\ \text{διαμετρητῷ ἐνὶ χώρῳ Γ344} \\ \text{περισκέπτῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ α426, κ211, 253, ξ6} \end{array}$

104. θαλερόν γόνον (8) — note the similarity in sound of:  
 θαλερόν γάμον ζ66  
 θαλερόν γόον κ457 (6)
108. Ἀγχίση κύδιστε  
 Ἀτρείδη κύδιστε A122, B434, Θ293, κτλ.  
 χαμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων  
 καταθηγῶν ἀνθρώπων Z123, γ114, κτλ. (see 3, 52, 122, 192, 200, 281)
110. γυνή δέ με γείνατο μήτηρ  
 θεὰ δέ σε γείνατο μήτηρ A280, Φ109
115. παρὰ μητρὸς ἐλοῦσα  
 ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἐλοῦσα O126  
 ιηὸς ἐλοῦσα μ310; ι548, ν283 (ἐλόντες)
119. πολλαὶ δὲ νύμφαι  
 πολλὰς δὲ κλιτῦς Π390  
 πολλὰς δὲ στίχας Υ326  
 πολλὰ δὲ τ' ἄγκε' Σ321  
 πολλὰ δὲ μηρί' γ273  
 πολλὰ γὰρ ἄλγε' δ164
131. ἀλλὰ σε πρὸς Ζηνὸς γουνάζομαι  
 νῦν δέ σε πρὸς πατρὸς γουνάζομαι ν324  
 νῦν δέ σε τῶν ὄπιθεν γουνάζομαι λ66
- 131-32. τοκήων / ἐσθλῶν  
 ᾄμαξαι / ἐσθλαί ι242-43  
 συμβώτης / ἐσθλός ο556-57
134. πατρί τε σῶ δειῖξον  
 ἄστν δέ μοι δειῖξον ζ178, 194
136. νύς ἔσσομαι  
 136α. γυνή ἔσσομαι  
 σκοπὸς ἔσσομαι K324  
 κακὸς ἔσσομαι P180  
 ἄχος ἔσσεται I249, χ345  
 ἔπος ἔσσεται B361, Ω92, 224  
 ὁδὸς ἔσσεται β273, 318
144. Ἀγχίσην δ' ἔρος εἶλεν see 91
145. γυνή δέ σε γείνατο μήτηρ see 110

151. ἔκῃβόλος . . . Ἀπόλλων  
 λαοσσόος . . . Ἀπόλλων Υ79
152. προῖῃ βέλεα στονόεντα  
 ἐφίει βέλεα στονόεντα ω180
156. ὄμματα καλὰ βαλοῦσα  
 ὄμματα καλὰ ἔοικας α208
160. ἐν οὔρεσιν ὑψηλοῖσι  
 ἐν δώμασιν ὑψηλοῖσι Ω281, φ33  
 καὶ τείχεος ὑψηλοῦ Π397, Φ540; Π702 (τ. υ.)
162. πρῶτον ἀπὸ χροὸς εἶλε (φαεινόν)  
 πρόσθεν ἀπὸ χροὸς ἦρκει (ὄλεθρον) Ν440  
 ἀπὸ χροὸς ἦρκεσ' (ὄλεθρον) Ο534  
 ἀπὸ χροὸς ἐστὶν (ἀλοιφή) ζ220
177. ὄρσεο Δαρδανίδη  
 φράσεο Δαρδανίδη Ω354  
 θάρσει Δαρδανίδη Ω171  
 ὕπνον ἰαύεις  
 ὕπνον ἔχευε β395, σ188, λ245  
 ὕπνος { ὄλωλεν Κ186  
 ἀνῆκεν ω440  
 ἰκάνοι Α610, Κ96, τ49  
 ὄρουσεν Ψ232
180. ὦς φάθ'· ὁ δ' ἐξ ὕπνοιο μάλ' ἐμμαπέως ὑπάκουσεν  
 ὦς φάθ'· ὁ δ' ἐξ ὕπνοιο μάλα κραιπνῶς ἀνόρουσε Κ162
181. δειρήν τε καὶ ὄμματα κάλ'  
 μέγεθος τε καὶ ὄμματα κάλ' Ψ66  
 κεφαλὴν τε καὶ ὄμματα καλὰ α208
187. ἀλλὰ σε πρὸς Ζηνὸς γουνάζομαι see 131
188. ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἐάσης  
 ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν { ἐχῆσιν α95, γ78  
 τετύχθαι α391  
 λίπηται δ710  
 μετ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἀνάσσει η23
192. Ἀγχίση κύδιστε see 108

198. ὄνομ' ἔσσεται see 136

οὐνεκά μ' αἰνόν  
 οὐνεκά { καλόν Γ44  
           { πάσας Ι505  
           { παῖσιν η10  
           { πολλῶν Ι97

199. βροτοῦ ἀνέρος ἔμπεσον εὐνῇ  
 βροτοῦ ἀνέρος ἔμβαλον εὐνῇ Σ85

ἔμπεσον εὐνῇ  
 ἔμπεσε(ν) { πόντω δ508, ε50, 318  
               { πέτρῃ Δ108  
               { θυμῷ Ι436, Ε207, 306, Π206, κτλ.  
               { οἴκῳ β45, ο375  
 ἐμπέσῃ ὕλῃ Δ155

201. εἰδός τε φυήν τε  
 εἰδός τε δέμας τε θ116, λ469, σ251, τ124, ω17; (see 241)

202. ξανθὸν Γανυμήδεα (8)  
 ξανθὴν Ἀγαμήδην Δ740  
 ξανθὸς Μελέαγρος Β642  
 ξανθὸς Μενέλαος Γ284, 434, Δ183, κτλ.  
 ξανθὸς Ῥαδάμανθυς δ564, η323 } (12)

208. ἀνήρπασε θέσπιν ἄελλα  
 ἀνήρπασε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων Ι564  
 θέσπιν ἀοιδὴν α328, θ498

211. ἀθανάτους φορέουσι (12)  
 ἀθάνατοι καλέονται Ε342  
 ἀθανάτους ἀλιτέσθαι δ378 (5½)  
 ἀθάνατοι φράζονται Β14, 31, 68 (5½)

223. πότνια Ἥως  
 { Ὕρη Α551, 568, κτλ.  
 { Ὕβη Δ2  
 πότνια { Κίρκη θ448, κ394, 549, μ36  
           { νύμφη ε149  
           { μήτηρ Ζ264, Ι584, κτλ.

227. ναῖε παρ' Ὠκεανοῖο  
 πέμψεν ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῖο Σ240

229. καλῆς ἐκ κεφαλῆς  
 ἐχθρῆς ἐκ κεφαλῆς Π77  
 πολλὰς ἐκ κεφαλῆς K15  
 ξανθὰς δ' ἐκ κεφαλῆς ν399, 431

230. πότνια Ἡώς see 223

231. ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔχουσα  
 ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \gammaενέβλη E270 \\ \alphạκουσα A396 \\ \epsiloṇλειπον T339 \\ \text{κτλ.} \end{array} \right.$

233. στυγερόν κατὰ γῆρας  
 χαλεπὸν κατὰ γῆρας Ψ623  
 χαλεπὸν δ' ἐπὶ γῆρας λ196  
 χαλεπὸν . . . γῆρας Θ103

237. ἄσπετος οὐδέ τι κῆρυς — note the similarity in sound of:  
 ἔμπεδος οὐδέ τι κῆρυς λ393

239. ἀθανάτοισιν ἐλοίμην  
 ἀθανάτοισιν  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta Y235, 0251 \\ \phi\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta Y64 \\ \epsiloṇνάσσει M242 \\ \text{κτλ.} \end{array} \right.$

244. γῆρας ὁμοῖον  
 νεῖκος ὁμοῖον Δ444

259. θνητοῖς οὔτ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἔπονται  
 θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι φανείη Y64  
 θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι ἀνάσσει M242

260. ἄμβροτον εἶδαρ ἔδουσι  
 ἄνθινον εἶδαρ ἔδουσι ι84

263. μυχῶ σπείων ἐροέντων  
 μυχῶ σπείους γλαφυροῖο ε226

266. ἐν οὔρεσιν ὑψηλοῖσι see 160

270. δένδρεα καλά (12)  
 δένδρεα μακρά I541; ε238, 241, σ359 (9½); Δ88, η114 (5½)



- |        |   |                                   |
|--------|---|-----------------------------------|
| εἴματα | } | ζ111, ν218; (see 64, 171)         |
| ἱερά   |   | Λ727, Ψ195, 209, κτλ.; (see 101)  |
| πώεα   |   | λ402, μ129, ω112                  |
| ρήγεα  |   | καλά Ω644, γ351, δ297, η336, κ352 |
| τεύχεα |   | χ114, ψ366                        |
| ἔντεα  |   | Κ34, Ρ162, Σ191                   |
| κτλ.   |   |                                   |
273. υἷὸν ἔχουσαι  
 κάλλος ἔχουσαι θ457, ζ18  
 θυμὸν ἔχοντα Ο710, Π219, 266, κτλ.  
 κτλ.
279. μάλα (γὰρ) θεοείκελος ἔσται  
 μάλα (τις) θρασυκάρδιος ἔσται Κ41
288. χολωσάμενος βαλέει  
 χολωσαμένη προσέφη Ω55
290. θεῶν δ' ἐποπίζεο μῆνιν  
 Διὸς δ' ἐποπίζεο μῆνιν ε146
291. "Ως εἰποῦσ' ἤϊξε  
 "Ως εἰποῦσ' ὄτρυνε Ε792, θ15  
 "Ως εἰποῦσ' ἰδρυσε Ο142
- οὐρανὸν ἡνεμόεντα  
 οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα Δ44, Ε769, Θ46, κτλ.  
 "Ιλιον ἡνεμόεσσαν Γ305, Θ499, κτλ.  
 ἄκριας ἡνεμόεσας ι400, π365
292. [Χαῖρε θεά see 92]

The total number of formulae in the *Hymn* which are analogous to Homeric formulae is seventy-one (or seventy-nine if repetitions are counted).<sup>23</sup> These expressions are found in sixty-five (23%) of the *Hymn's* lines and fill about 11½% of the poem's metra.<sup>24</sup>

Only one entry has no positional parallel in Homer.<sup>25</sup>

### III. FORMULAE FOUND MORE THAN ONCE WITHIN THE *HYMN*

Besides containing many formulaic phrases common to, or patterned on, formulae in the tradition within which it is thought the poet of the

*Hymn to Aphrodite* composed, the poem also exhibits to a considerable degree a trait of diction peculiar to all oral poetry: namely, repetition of formulaic elements within a single composition.

The following is a list of those formulae, Homeric and non-Homeric, which are repeated in the *Hymn*. Each expression is cited in the order in which it first occurs in the poem. In the cases where a phrase is repeated in a different position in the line, the syllable in which it terminates is given in parentheses after the line reference.

An asterisk placed after an entry signifies that the phrase is not exactly paralleled in Homer; where a portion of an expression is underlined, that part only is peculiar to the *Hymn*, the rest being exactly paralleled in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*.

ἔργα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης\* 1, 9

γλυκὺν ἱμερον 2 (10); 45, 53, 143 (8)

καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων 3, 122, 192, 200, 281  
-οῖς -οις 52

εὖστέφάνου Κυθερείης 6, 175  
-ω -η 287

οὐ δύναται πεπιθεῖν φρένας οὐδ' ἀπατήσαι 7, 33

γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνην 8  
-πις -η 94

ἀγλαὰ ἔργ' 11 (9); 15 (3)

{ ἐπὶ φρεσί 15  
κατὰ φρένας 57  
μετὰ φρεσί 72, 193, 223, 276 }

Ἀρτέμιδα χρυσηλάκατον κελαδεινὴν 16  
-ος -ου -ῆς 118

ἐν φιλότῃτι 17, 263 (5½); 287 (3½)

φιλομμειδῆς Ἀφροδίτῃ 17, 49, 56, 65, 155

τέκετο Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης 22, 42

Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο 23, 27

διὰ θεάων 28, 172

οὐτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων 35, 149

πυκινὰς φρένας 38, 243

συνέμιξε καταθνητῇσι γυναιξίν\* 39, 50

συνέμιξα κ. γ. 250

ἀνέμιξε -οῖς . . . 52

ἐν ἀθανάτῃσι θεῇσι 41

-οῖσι -οῖσιν 247

καὶ -οῖσι -οῖσιν 142

ἐν -οῖσιν . . . 239

κέδν' εἰδυῖαν 44

κεδνὰ ἰδυίῃ 134

γλυκὺν ἱμερον ἔμβαλε θυμῷ 45, 53, 143

ὥς ῥα θεοὺς συνέμιξε\* 50

ὥς τε θεὰς ἀνέμιξε 52

(πολυπιδάκου Ἰδης 54 — Ἰδην . . . πολυπίδακα 68)

τὸν δὴ ἔπειτα\* 56, 209

θύρας ἐπέθηκε φαεινὰς 60, 236

ἐσσαμένη δ' εὔ πάντα περὶ χροῖ 64, 172

εἴματα καλὰ 64, 171 (12); 232 (9½)

κατὰ σκιάεντας ἐναύλους\* 74, 124

σταθμοῖσι λελειμμένον οἶον ἀπ' ἄλλων 76

σ. -ος -ος ἄ. ἄ. 79

Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη 81, 107, 191

ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι νοήσας 83, 179

εἴματα σιγαλόεντα 85, 164

ἐπιγναμπτὰς ἔλικας κάλυκας τε 87

. . . γναμπτὰς θ' ἔ. κ. τ. 163

Ἀγχίσην δ' ἔρος εἶλεν\* 91, 144

ὄρῶν φάος ἠελίοιο 105

ἴδῃ φ. ἦ. 256

. . . φ. ἦ. 272

τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη 107, 191

Ἀγχίση κύδιστε\* 108, 192

{ θεός εἰμι 109 }  
{ θεὸς ἦσθα 186 }

γυνὴ δέ με γείνατο μήτηρ 110

γ. δ. σε γ. μ. 145

Ὅτρεινός δ' ἐστὶ πατὴρ ὄνομα κλυτός 111, 146

{ σάφα οἶδα 113 }  
{ σ. εἰδώς 167 }

καὶ ἡμετέρην . . . οἶδα 113

καὶ ὑμετέρην . . . οἶδα 116

ἀνήρπαξε χρυσόρραπις Ἀργειφόντης 117

. . ἥρπαξε χ. Ἀ. 121

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ 128, 215

ἀλλὰ σε πρὸς Ζηνὸς γουνάζομαι\* 131, 187

{ ὦς εἰποῦσα 143 }  
{ ὦς εἰπών 155 }  
{ ὦς εἰποῦς 291 }

ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν 144, 176

ἥματα πάντα 148, 209, 221, 240 (12); 248 (5½)

κατ' ὄμματα καλὰ 156

καὶ ὄμματα κάλ' 181

ἐν οὔρεσιν ὑψηλοῖσιν\* 160, 266

φίλος υἱός 196

-ον -όν 208, 282

ὑμετέρης γενεῆς 201 (7); 219 (5)

ἔπειτα γόασκε\* 209, 216

(χρυσόθρονος . . . Ἡώς 218 — Ἡοῖ . . . χρυσοθρόνῳ 226)

ἀθάνατόν τ' εἶναι καὶ ζῶειν ἥματα πάντα 221, 240

πότνια Ἡώς\* 223, 230

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \tau\acute{o}\nu \delta' \eta \tau\omicron\iota* 225 \\ \tau\omicron\upsilon \delta' \eta \tau. 230, 237 \end{array} \right\}$

πολυνήρατος ἥβη\* 225, 274

μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν 253, 261

τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ δὴ πρῶτον ἴδῃ 256, 278

τ. μ. ε. δ. π. 274

αἰ τόδε ναιετάουσιν ὄρος\* 258, 285

[ἐπὶ χθονί 265, 270]

Fifty-nine formulae in the *Hymn* are repeated a total of eighty-seven times. The phrases of this class are found in 118 (36%) of the poem's lines and occupy 22½% of its metra.<sup>26</sup> It is remarkable that a poem of such brevity should contain so much repetition in its diction. Yet, for all its repetition, the *Hymn* is neither redundant nor sluggish in the unfolding of its tale. On the contrary, it moves its audience swiftly over a considerable expanse of subject matter. Such frequent repetition, which is not used for special effects of theme or structure, can only be understood in terms of the oral mode of composition in which a poet will use the same ready-made phrases again and again in order to fashion his poem as he sings it.

Moreover, of the eighty-seven repetitions, twenty-three occur at an interval of less than ten lines; another twelve formulae recur within a space of twenty-five lines or less. The repetition of a formula at a short distance "is a constant feature of the Homeric diction" and a "sign of its oral nature: a phrase or type of phrase will linger in the mind of the singer and in the speed of his verse-making, where his thought largely follows for its expression the habitual vocal gestures of his poetic diction, it will come to the fore and be used again."<sup>27</sup>

#### IV. FORMULAE IN THE *HYMN* WHICH ARE ANALOGOUS TO OTHER FORMULAE IN THE *HYMN*

In addition to the exact repetitions, the *Hymn to Aphrodite* contains a large number of phrases which seem to be patterned on (or at least suggested by) phrases used elsewhere in the poem. The final list gives these analogous expressions arranged in systems of schematization.<sup>28</sup> The criteria for inclusion in this list are the same as those used in Section II above.<sup>29</sup>



1. μοι ἔννεπε ἔργα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης  
 9. οἱ εὐάδεν ἔ. π. Ἀ.  
 122. ἤγαγεν ἔ. καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 17. φιλομμειδῆς Ἀφροδίτῃ (+ 49, 56, 65, 155)
2. ἐπὶ γλυκὺν ἥμερον ὦρσε  
 57. ἥμερος εἶλεν  
 170. ἔ. γ. ὕπνον ἔχουε
3. φῦλα καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 122. ἔργα κ. ἄ.
3. καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων (+ 52, 122, 192, 200, 281)  
 108. χαμαιγενέων ἄ.
4. θηρία πάντα  
 148. ἥματα π. (+ 209, 221, 240)
6. μέμηλεν εὖστεφάνου Κυθρεΐης  
 287. μιγῆναι εὖστεφάνῳ Κυθρεΐῃ
11. ἀγλαὰ ἔργ' ἀλεγύνειω (12)  
 15. ἄ. ἔ. ἐδίδαξεν (5½)  
 127. ἄ. τέκνα τεκεῖσθαι (12)
15. ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ φρεσὶ  
 72. ὀρώσα μετὰ φ.  
 223. ἐνόησε μ. φ.
17. δάμναται ἐν φιλότῃ  
 263. μίσγοντ' ἔ. φ.
21. (ἔργ') Ἀφροδίτης  
 34. (ἔστ') -ην  
 181. (κάλ') -ης
23. βουλῇ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο  
 27. πατρὸς Δ. αἰ.
26. τετελεσμένος ἐστίν  
 47. ἀποεργμένη εἴη  
 63. τεθνωμένον ἦεν  
 178. ἰνδάλλομαι εἶναι  
 242. κεκλημένος εἴης
30. πῖαρ ἐλουσα  
 115. μητρὸς ἔ.

36. Ζηνὸς . . . τερπικεραλύνου  
 187. Ζηνὸς . . . αἰγιόχοιο  
 38. πυκινὰς φρένας ἑξαπαφούσα  
 243. π. φ. ἀμφικαλύπτοι  
 44. αἰδοίην ἄλοχον  
 127. κουριδίην ᾗ.  
 45. ἔμβαλε θυμῷ (+ 53, 143)  
 72. τέρπετο θυμὸν  
 50. ὥς ῥα θεοὺς συνέμιξε καταθνητῆσι γυναιξί  
 52. ὥς τε θεὰς ἀνέμιξε καταθνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις  
 56. τὸν δὲ ἔπειτα ἰδοῦσα  
 209. τ. δ. ἔ. γόασκε  
 64. εἴματα καλά (+ 171, 232)  
 101. ἱερὰ κ.  
 270. δένδρεα κ.  
 65-66. φιλομμειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη / σεύατ'  
 155-56. φ. Ἀ. / ἔρπε  
 69. {βῆ δ' ἰθύς}  
 220. {βῆ δ' ἵμεν}  
 72. μετὰ φρεσὶ τέρπετο (θυμὸν)  
 193. μ. φ. δειδίθι (λίην)  
 75. κλισίας εὐποιήτους ἀφίκανε  
 161. λεχέων εὐποιήτων ἐπέβησαν  
 77. Ἀγχίστην (ἥρωα)  
 108. Ἀ. (κύδιστε) (+ 192)  
 77. κάλλος ἔχοντα  
 102. θυμὸν ἔχουσα  
 273. υἱὸν ἔχουσai  
 78. νομοὺς κάτα ποιήεντας  
 169. νομῶν ἐξ ἀνθεμοέντων  
 88. περικαλλέες ἦσαν  
 279. θεοείκελος ἔσται  
 92. {Χαῖρε ἄνασσ'}  
 292. {Χ. θεά }

92. δώμαθ' ἱκάνεις  
 106. οὐδὸν ἱκέσθαι  
 147. (ἐνθάδ' ἱκάνεις)  
 96. (καὶ) ἀθάνατοι καλέονται  
 211. (τοί τ') ἀθανάτους φορέουσι  
 97. ἄλσεα καλὰ νέμονται  
 156. ὄμματα καλὰ βαλοῦσα  
 232. εἶματα καλὰ διδοῦσα  
 105. ὄραν φάος ἠελίοιο  
 256. ἴδῃ φ. ἦ.  
 272. λείποι φ. ἦ.  
 108. κύδιστε χαμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων  
 192. κ. καταθνητῶν ἄ.  
 200. (μάλιστα) κ. ἄ.  
 109. ἀθανάτησιν εἵσκεις  
 203. ἀθανάτοισι μετεΐη  
 239. ἀθανάτοισιν ἐλοίμην  
 259. ἄ. ἔπονται  
 113. καὶ ὑμετέρεην σάφα οἶδα  
 116. κ. ὑ. εὔ οἶ.  
 136. νυὸς ἔσσομαι  
 136α. γυνή ἔ.  
 198. ὄνομ' ἔσσεται  
 170. ὕπνον ἔχευε  
 177. ὕ. ἰαύεις  
 201. εἶδός τε φύην τε  
 241. εἶ. τ. δέμας τ.  
 210. Ζεὺς ἐλέησε  
 222. Ζ. ἐπένευσε  
 225. τὸν δ' ἦ τοι (εἴως) μέν  
 230. τοῦ δ' ἦ τοι εὐνῆς μέν  
 237. τοῦ δ' ἦ τοι φωνῇ . . .  
 225. ἔχεν πολυήρατος ἦβῃ  
 274. ἔλῃ π. ἦ.  
 256. τὸν μὲν ἐπὴν δὴ πρῶτον ἴδῃ (+ 278)  
 274. τ. μ. εἶ. δ. π. ἔλῃ

273. *υῖὸν ἔχουσαι*277. *υῖὸν ἄγουσα*280. *ποτὶ Ἴλιον ηνεμόεσσαν*291. *πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἠνεμόεντα*

The *Hymn* shows a total of forty-five systems of schematization containing 108 analogous phrases (or 126 if repetitions are counted).<sup>30</sup> These expressions are found in ninety-four (about 35½%) of the poem's lines and fill about 14% of its metra.<sup>31</sup>

The results obtained from the above study of the four types of formulae in the *Hymn to Aphrodite* can best be seen in Table A, in which all the overlapping is taken into account.

TABLE A. THE FORMULAIC CONTENT OF THE HOMERIC *HYMN TO APHRODITE*

I Formulae also found in Homer:	273 44½% metra 220 (75.6%) lines	} 52½% metra 242 (83½%) lines	} 60% metra 255 (88%) lines <sup>32</sup>
II Formulae anal- ogous to Homeric formulae:	79 11½% metra 65 (23%) lines		
III Formulae re- peated in the <i>Hymn</i> :	146 22½% metra 118 (36%) lines	} 30% metra 159 (54%) lines	
IV Formulae anal- ogous to other formulae in the <i>Hymn</i> :	126 14% metra 94 (35½%) lines		

It may be useful finally to make a general comparison of the formulaic content of the *Hymn* with that of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. This can be done both visually and statistically. The visual comparison may be made by contrasting the diagram on page 200 f. (showing the metrical distribution of the four types of formulae in the first twenty-five lines of the *Hymn*) with Parry's analysis of the first twenty-five lines of each of the Homeric epics.<sup>33</sup> The numerical results derived from such a comparison are set forth in Table B.

TABLE B. SAMPLE OF FORMULAIC CONTENT IN THE *HYMN* AND HOMERIC EPIC

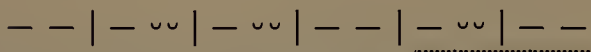
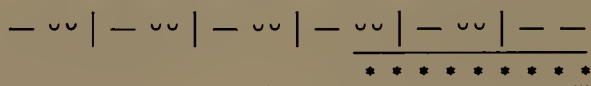
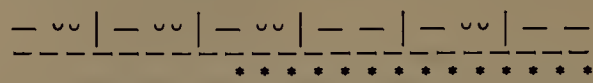
	Formulaic metra	Lines containing formulae
<i>Hymn to Aphrodite</i>		
lines 1-25:	60%	92%
<i>Iliad</i>		
lines 1-25:	72%	88%
<i>Odyssey</i>		
lines 1-25:	70%	92%

The figures in Table B show a remarkably close correspondence, especially if one takes into consideration the enormous difference in length of the *Hymn* as compared to that of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

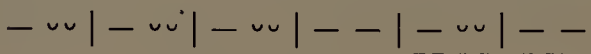
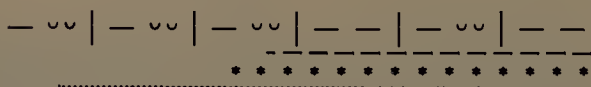
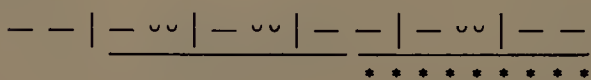
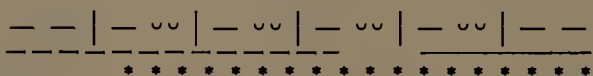
The evidence presented in the above analysis of the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* should warrant the conclusion that this poem is the product of oral composition. Both the quantity and kind of formulaic matter point to this conclusion. For not only does the *Hymn* contain a large body of formulae common to the Homeric tradition, but such phenomena as constant repetition and schematization of the diction are also conspicuously present. As Parry demonstrated, these are found to a noticeable degree only in oral poetry.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, the conclusion that the *Hymn* is an oral poem is confirmed by the sample comparison of its formulaic content with that of the Homeric epics.<sup>35</sup>



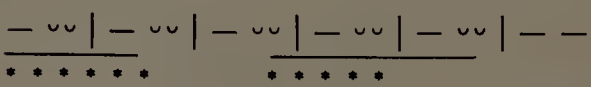
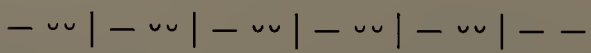
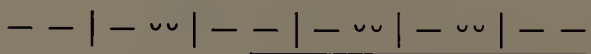
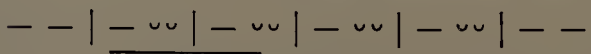
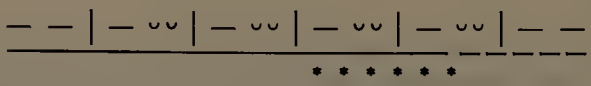
DIAGRAM SHOWING THE METRICAL DISTRIBUTION OF FORMULAE IN  
LINES 1-25 OF THE HOMERIC *HYMN TO APHRODITE*



5



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|-------|-----|--|
| ----- | I   | Formulae in the <i>Hymn</i> which are also found in Homer                            |
| ----- | II  | Formulae in the <i>Hymn</i> which are analogous to formulae found in Homer           |
| ***** | III | Formulae found more than once within the <i>Hymn</i>                                 |
| ..... | IV  | Formulae in the <i>Hymn</i> which are analogous to other formulae in the <i>Hymn</i> |

## NOTES

1. For a bibliography and discussion of the shortcomings of these early papers see J. A. Notopoulos, "The Homeric Hymns as Oral Poetry; a Study of the Post-Homeric Oral Tradition," *AJP* 83 (1962) 354 and n.57. H. N. Porter, "Repetition in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite," *AJP* 70 (1949) 249-51 with notes.

2. Notopoulos (above, n.1) 337-68. See also M. Parry, "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making: II. The Homeric Language as the Language of an Oral Poetry," *HSCP* 43 (1932) 42.

3. For example, differences in the grouping of data for tabulation and the use of somewhat different criteria for the selection of formulaic material make detailed comparison of this study with that of Notopoulos inappropriate. (For a discussion of these points of difference see nn.9, 11, and 21 below.) Until uniform standards are adopted, it would seem advisable in studies of this kind to include not only the tabulated results, but also a full set of data on which the final calculations are based.

4. I have followed Parry's definition of a formula as "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea" (M. Parry, "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making: I. Homer and the Homeric Style," *HSCP* 41 [1930] 80-81). For a complete bibliography of Parry's work see *AJA* 52 (1958) 43-44. For recent reiterations of Parry's theory and further discussions and analyses of oral poetry along the lines set by Parry see G. S. Kirk, *The Songs of Homer* (Cambridge 1962) 55ff; A. B. Lord, *Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960) 30-67 especially; J. A. Notopoulos (above, n. 1) 353-54; D. L. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1959) 222ff; C. H. Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958) 108ff.

5. That the oral poet hardly conceives of his phrases as belonging to separate types should be obvious from a glance at the diagram on p. 200 f., on which it can be seen how a single phrase may belong to several categories of formulae. A note on method: to discover the Homeric parallels in the first two categories, I had recourse to the following works: T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday, and E. E. Sikes, eds., *The Homeric Hymns*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1936) 349-72; H. Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum* (Leipzig 1885); A. Gehring, *Index Homericus* (Leipzig 1891); G. L. Prendergast, *A Complete Concordance to the Iliad of Homer* (London 1875); H. Dunbar, *A Complete Concordance to the Odyssey and Hymns of Homer* (Oxford 1880). Except in cases where the parallels were easily found, I used the laborious process of checking each reference listed by Ebeling and Gehring under a given word. In many instances it was necessary to do this for nearly every word in a particular line of the *Hymn*. The new editions of Dunbar and Prendergast by B. Marzullo (Hildesheim 1962) may facilitate future studies of this type. To obtain the material for Sections III and IV below, I compared individually each line of the *Hymn* to every other line. The OCT was used throughout (for the *Hymn* as well as for the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*).

6. See Parry (above, n.2) 12-13; Lord (above, n.4) 49ff; Whitman (above n.4) 128.

7. When a formula in the *Hymn* occurs a second time, the number of the line in which it first appears is cited.

8. Following Parry (above, n.4) 83-84.

9. Parry (above, n.4) 84-85, n.3. Notopoulos (above, n.1) includes in his study single words and phrases of four syllables and less; see, e.g., the analysis of the opening lines of the *Hymn to Apollo*, pp. 354-57: (1), (4), (7), (11), (13), (16), etc. For a discussion of the minimum length of the formula see Kirk (above, n.4) 67.

10. For the positional citations I have used the method set forth by E. G. O'Neill, Jr., in "The Localization of Metrical Word-Types in the Greek Hexameter," *YCS* 8 (1942) 113.

11. See Parry (above, n.4) 80-81.

12. Cf. G. E. O. Windisch, *De Hymnis Homericis Maioribus* (Leipzig 1867): a figure comparable to mine for this list is only 187. Notopoulos (above, n.1), p. 358, gives a total of 227, but this figure represents, I believe, both the formulae found in Homer without change and the analogous formulae (see pp. 354ff). I deal with the latter class in Section II below. (Note: neither for Windisch's nor Notopoulos' nor my own figures were the larger formulae separated into smaller formulaic units.)

13. Unless otherwise indicated, the percentages given in this study are based on the first 291 lines of the *Hymn*. The last two lines of the poem comprise the farewell, which appears to be a peculiarly hymnal formula. (For a sample of the metrical distribution of the formulae in the *Hymn* see the diagram on p. 200 f.)

14. See the formulae in verses 12, 15, 29 (2 formulae), 32, 36, 37 (2), 41, 54, 82, 127, 194, 207, 225, 232, 254, 263, 287, and 290.

15. E.g., *ὄφρα τάχιστα* (see the entry for line 46 in the list above), which occurs eleven times in position 12, but only once each in positions 3½ and 5½; *κουριδίην ἄλοχον* (see the entry for line 127) occurs four times in position 5, but only once in 7.

16. For a discussion of the preferred position of the formula in the hexameter line see Whitman (above, n.4) 109 and 111; Kirk (above, n.4) 60ff.

17. Parry (above, n.4) 85.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*, 134-35.

20. Lord (above, n.4) 35ff, especially 42-43.

21. The formal distinction between individual repeated formulae and systems of analogous formulae is to a great extent conditioned by the chance survival of only about 28,000 verses of Homeric epic. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* do not comprise the entire body of early Greek oral epic and therefore cannot be considered to contain a complete treasury of formulae. If there were more oral poetry with which to work, it is very likely that in many cases the poet "was using a formula a second time where, so far as our evidence goes, he is using a formula which is like another." (Parry [above, n.4] 134.)

22. Parry (above, n.4) 117. Note: Notopoulos (above, n.1) includes groups of formulae, or systems, of a more general nature: e.g., in the analysis of the opening lines of the *Hymn to Apollo*, pp. 354-57, see (9), (10), (14), (15), (20), etc. These and other disparities in data (see n.12 above) make further comparison with Notopoulos' figures inadvisable so far as the present investigation is concerned. See J. B. Hainsworth, "Structure and Content in Epic Formulae: The Question of the Unique Expression," *CQ* n.s. 14 (1964) 155-66.

23. The phrases in lines 19 and 151 are not included in this figure because they are not exactly equivalent metrically to the similar Homeric phrases cited. Nor are the expressions containing fewer than five syllables included in the tabulations.

24. There is a certain amount of overlapping in the figures given for Sections I and II above, since an analogous formula often contains a phrase or part of a phrase which is exactly paralleled in Homer; see, e.g., the entries in Sections I and II for lines 7, 11, 23, 38, etc., and the diagram on p. 200 f. Taken together, the data in these two sections are contained in 242 (83½%) lines of the *Hymn* and occupy about 52½% of the poem's metra.

25. I.e., in line 202.

26. In these figures both the first occurrence of each formula and the repetition(s) of it are included. Also, I have thought it feasible to include in the tabulations of this section those word groups of less than five syllables which recur without change in the *Hymn*. It seems highly unlikely that an oral poet would reuse even short phrases at such brief intervals purely by chance.

27. Parry (above, n.2) 44f, n.2.

28. For a discussion of the significance in oral composition of analogous formulae, see the introduction of Section II above.

29. I have not distinguished between Homeric and non-Homeric phrases in this list since in many cases both kinds are found in the same expression. It would be less confusing for the reader to check Sections I and II for such information.

30. These figures include analogous phrases of fewer than five syllables (see n.26 above) as well as the formulae (in parentheses) which are analogous to other formulae in the *Hymn* but which are not composed of exactly the same parts of speech; see, e.g., the system in lines 21-34-181, which would seem to form a definite pattern in spite of the lack of similarity its expressions bear each other in this respect.

31. The repetitions are included in these figures. As in Sections I and II (see n.23 above, and the diagram on p. 200 f.) there is a considerable amount of overlapping in the figures given for Sections III and IV. Taken together, the data in these last two categories are contained in 159 (54%) lines and occupy about 30% of the *Hymn*'s metra. The overlap between Sections I-II and III-IV will be considered in the conclusions to follow (see Table A). (Note: 292 lines of the *Hymn* were used in the calculation of these percentages; see the four-syllable system of analogous formulae in lines 92-292.)

32. Of the thirty-six (12%) lines in the *Hymn* which contain no formulaic material of the sort described in the four categories above, six lines contain phrases found without alteration in the Hesiodic corpus and the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. For these coincidences see A. Gemoll, *Die Homerischen Hymnen* (Leipzig 1886) 259-60 and Allen *et al.* (above, n.5) 352-72. On the oral nature of the Hesiodic poems and the *Hymn to Demeter* see A. Hoekstra, "Hésiode et la tradition orale; contribution à l'étude du style formulaire," *Mnemosyne* 10 (1957) 193-225; J. A. Notopoulos, "Homer, Hesiod and the Achaean Heritage of Oral Poetry," *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 177-97; Notopoulos (above, n.1) 337-68.

33. See Parry (above, n.4) 118-21.

34. Parry (above, n.4) 90-117, 122.

35. The analytical work for this paper was carried out under the supervision of the late professor C. A. Lynch at Pembroke College, Brown University, in 1960-61. For their valuable criticism, suggestions, and encouragement since then, I wish to thank A. Amory, A. L. Boegehold, A. Brooke, M. W. Edwards, J. T. Hooker, J. A. Notopoulos, D. A. Preziosi, M. C. J. Putnam, R. Stroud, E. T. Vermeule, F. R. Walton, and C. H. Whitman.



## THE TEACHER OF PLUTARCH

C. P. JONES

THE man of letters, rhetor or philosopher, who was also of political and social eminence is a familiar figure in the history of the Greek world under Roman rule. A. Stein long ago pointed out how many of these cultured men became heads of their provincial *κοινά*;<sup>1</sup> recently the cardinal part taken by Areius of Alexandria, Nestor of Tarsus, and others in the settlement of Augustus has been studied by G. W. Bowersock.<sup>2</sup>

Ammonius, the teacher of Plutarch, belongs to this company. As a philosopher he is interesting mainly because of his more famous pupil. In the administration of Athens under the principate, however, he and his posterity held a position that is worth the attention of the historian.<sup>3</sup>

Plutarch gives little direct information about his teacher. There is an anecdote about one of his afternoon lectures, in which he rebuked "certain eminent people" (*τῶν γνωρίμων τινάς*) among the audience who had lunched too heavily (*quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur* 70E). One of Plutarch's fellow-pupils under Ammonius was certainly eminent: Themistocles, descended from the Athenian general (*Themist.* 32.6). Otherwise Plutarch depicts Ammonius only indirectly, by introducing him as a speaker into certain of his dialogues — the *de E delphico*, the *de defectu oraculorum*, and three of the collection that make up the *quaestiones coniuales*.

In the dialogue *de E delphico*, which purports to have taken place when Nero was visiting Greece (385B) in 66–67,<sup>4</sup> Ammonius is the chief speaker. At least three of the other speakers are young men, apparently present as his pupils: Plutarch's friend Theon, who asks Ammonius' permission to defend dialectic (386D ff), Plutarch himself, and Eustrophus, who together defend mathematics (387D ff) and are referred to by Ammonius as *νέοι* (391E). Apart from the priest Nicander, the only other person present is Plutarch's brother Lamprias, whose age is not so clearly defined. He appears to be well known to Ammonius, who alone sees through a pseudoscientific argument that Lamprias advances as a joke (386A). He takes the discussion less seriously than the other youths, and so is presumably older than they; he seems at least to be older than Plutarch, since he is named after their grandfather.

Ammonius and Lamprias reappear in the *de defectu oraculorum*, but with their roles reversed. Ammonius takes only a small part, and so far from being the authoritative figure that he was in the *de E delphico*, he is troubled by an ἀπορία (435A) and defers to Lamprias (εἰ μὴ τι σὺ λέγεις ἕτερον, 431C). Lamprias also is entirely different from the Lamprias of the other dialogue. He takes the conversation seriously, and like Ammonius before has the last and conclusive word (435E ff). If the depiction of the characters is at all realistic, the dramatic date will be later than that of the *de E delphico*. Plutarch appears to have been thinking of a time in the 70's or early 80's.<sup>5</sup>

Three of the conversations included in the *quaestiones conuiuales* introduce Ammonius as an interlocutor. The dramatic date of the first of these (645D ff) cannot be far from that of the *de E delphico*. Ammonius is again the senior interlocutor. His rebuke causes the youths to lay down their garlands in shame (646A). Only Plutarch argues with him, but he too is a νέος (646A, 649A). Another of the *quaestiones* is set at Ammonius' house; the occasion is his third tenure of the hoplite generalship in Athens (720C ff), which perhaps suggests that he was fairly old. The same conclusion can be drawn from the depiction of the philosopher Boethus as no longer young (720F): he reappears in the dialogue *de Pythiae oraculis*, which is supposed to have taken place in Plutarch's later life.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, a son of Ammonius is introduced, Thrasyllus, conversing in the manner of a mature person (722C ff). Ammonius still treats Plutarch as a junior, by telling him to refute Boethus (721D), but the dramatic date appears to be later than Plutarch's student days and closer to that of the *de defectu oraculorum*. The last book of the *quaestiones conuiuales* is entirely occupied with a dinner given by Ammonius, again as hoplite general, to certain of the ephebes and their teachers (736D ff). The dramatic date of this book must be near to that of the *de E delphico*. As in that dialogue, Ammonius directs the conversation, urging Plutarch (738A) and Lamprias (740A–B), or both (744C), to speak; Lamprias is a παῖς (747B) and again treats the topic of conversation humorously (740B).

Thus in all the dialogues of Plutarch in which he appears, Ammonius is either preeminent, while Plutarch and his brother are νέοι, or else reduced in stature by comparison with his old pupils, who can now speak authoritatively before him. The earlier stage, that of the dramatic dates of the *de E delphico* and of the first and third of the *quaestiones conuiuales* in which Ammonius appears, is to be dated about 67; at about the same time Ammonius will have held his first or second

hoplite generalship. The later stage is that of the dramatic dates of the *de defectu oraculorum* and the *quaestio* in which Boethus and Thrasyllus appear and Ammonius is hoplite general for the third time. This may refer to the 70's or the early 80's.<sup>7</sup>

The only writer other than Plutarch to mention Ammonius is Eunapius, who records that he was "from Egypt" and, this time citing the authority of Plutarch, that he died in Athens (*uitae philosoph.* 454). Neither of these facts is to be found in the surviving corpus of Plutarch, but there is no reason to question them. Eunapius may easily have obtained them from works now lost; in particular, from the essay known only from the catalogue of Lamprias, Ἀμμώνιος, ἣ περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἡδέως τῇ κακίᾳ συνεῖναι.<sup>8</sup>

To the evidence of Plutarch and Eunapius can be added that of an acephalous inscription from Eleusis published in 1897. Since writers on Ammonius have either ignored this stone, or used it carelessly, it deserves reconsideration.<sup>9</sup> The text is as follows, with the restorations of the first editor:

[Ἀμμώνιος τὴν δεῖνα]  
τὴν γενομένην ἑαυτοῦ γ[υναῖκα]  
καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πά[γου]  
βουλῆς Θράσυλλος Ἀμμω[νίου]  
Χολλείδης τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μητ[έρα]  
ἀνέθηκ' ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν  
καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰς θεὰς εὐσεβ[είας].

The lady honored for her piety to the goddesses of Eleusis was the late wife of a man whose name is lost. But since the other dedicant, Thrasyllus of Cholleidae, was her son, the bereaved husband will be his father Ammonius. And Ammonius of Cholleidae will have been the teacher of Plutarch. He also had a son called Thrasyllus; and the Thrasyllus of the inscription, who was herald of the Areopagus, belonged to the same rank of society as Plutarch's teacher, for the hoplite general and the herald of the Areopagus were among the chief magistrates of Athens.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, the deme Cholleidae, of which the epigraphical Ammonius was a member, is connected in other ways with Plutarch's circle in Athens. It included his friend Serapion, and perhaps Plutarch himself, since he was in the tribe to which Cholleidae belonged, Leontis.<sup>11</sup>

Besides providing the name of Ammonius' tribe and a magistracy for his son, this inscription enables both to be linked with an aristocratic family of first- and second-century Athens.

Before its discovery an Annius Thrasyllus of Cholleidae had already been known: thereafter it was tempting to identify Ammonius' son with him. Hence the lost name of Ammonius' wife was deduced, since Annius Thrasyllus' mother was Flavia Laodameia, a priestess of Demeter and Core mentioned in several inscriptions.<sup>12</sup> Such a wife Ammonius might well have honored for her piety to the goddesses. But this reconstruction cannot be right. Flavia Laodameia lived to see, and to honor in a dedication, her great-granddaughter, whose father was archon about the middle of the second century.<sup>13</sup> Only by an intolerable stretching of chronology could this dedication be assumed earlier than *ca.* 110. Ammonius, who survived his wife, would necessarily have lived even beyond this date, an improbable feat of survival for a philosopher already of established reputation in 67. Flavia Laodameia cannot have been his wife, nor this Annius Thrasyllus his son. There is no obstacle, on the other hand, to identifying the son of Laodameia with an ephebe of 112/13, M. Annius Thrasyllus of Cholleidae.<sup>14</sup> The ephebe's father was named M. Annius Pythodorus, and he, not Ammonius, will have been the husband of Flavia Laodameia. They were not ill-suited: as Flavia Laodameia was priestess of Demeter and Core, so M. Annius Pythodorus can be identified with a man of the same name who was priest of Delian Apollo for several years under Trajan and Hadrian.<sup>15</sup>

Though the son of Ammonius must be distinguished from the son of Pythodorus and Laodameia, the existence of two Thrasylli in the deme Cholleidae in the early principate, both of them connected with Eleusis, need not be due to coincidence. To have a son born about 95, who was an ephebe in 112/13, M. Annius Pythodorus could have been born in about 70. Ammonius, it has been seen, was hoplite general and Plutarch's revered teacher about 67, and lived on into the 70's or 80's. He could have been born about 20 and his son Thrasyllus about 45, an exact contemporary of Plutarch. If so, Pythodorus may have been Thrasyllus' son, and M. Annius Thrasyllus his grandson. In the stemma that follows this has been taken to be so, but the possibility that the two Thrasylli were connected in some other way, as uncle and nephew, for instance, is not excluded. Either supposition would account for the existence of two Thrasylli in Cholleidae and for their connection with Eleusis.

The Roman names "M. Annius," that first appear in the nomenclature of Pythodorus, invite speculation. Although no M. Annius is known in the fasti of Achaëa,<sup>16</sup> chance has preserved record of an M. Annius who had contacts with Athens. An Athenian inscription reads:



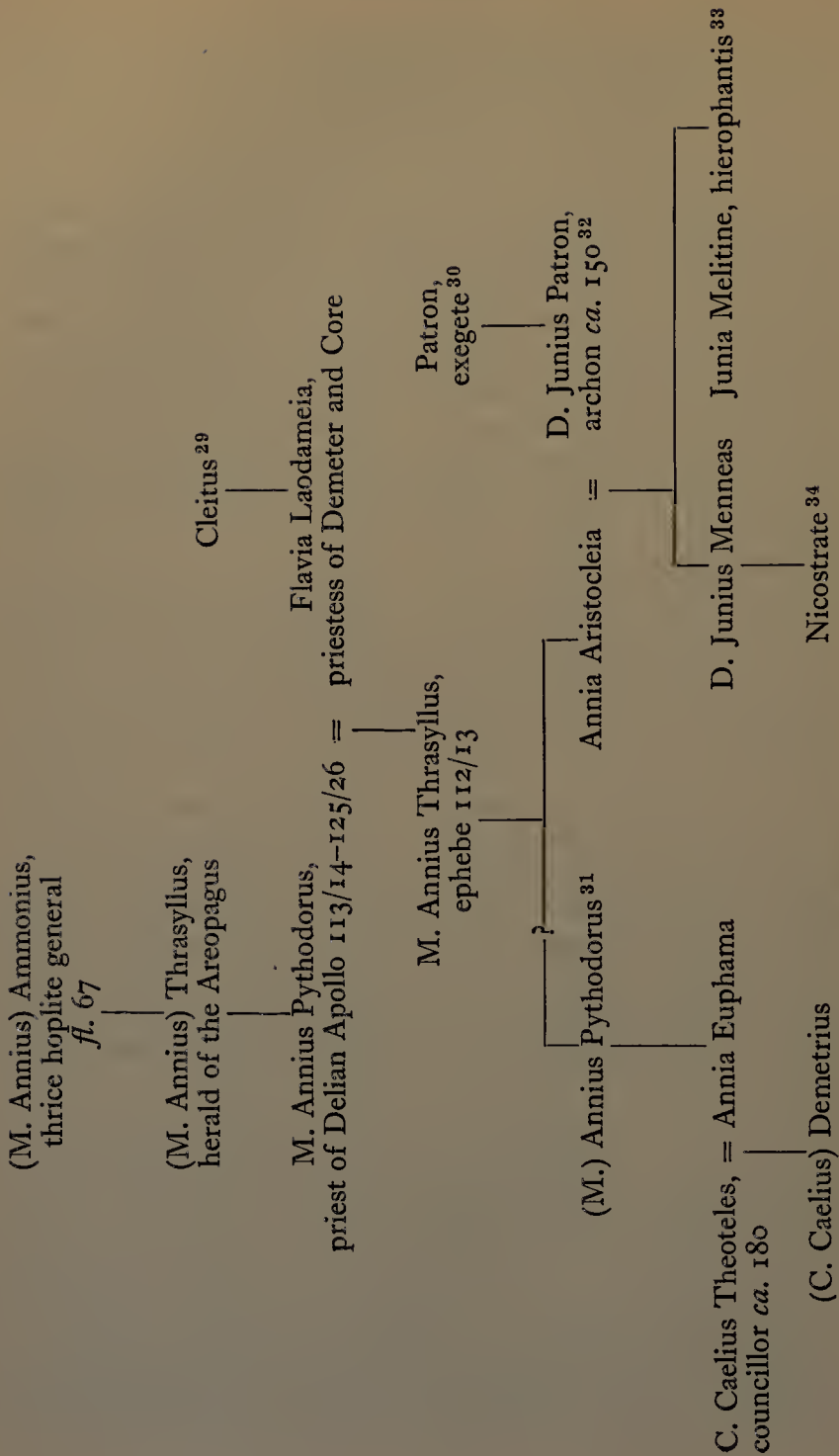
ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου β[ουλῇ καὶ]  
 ἡ βουλῇ τῶν ἑξακοσίων [καὶ]  
 ὁ δῆμος Μάρκον Ἀννιο[ν]  
 Ἀφρείνον ὑπατον ἀρετῆς [ἔνε-]  
 κεν καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ε[ὐνοίας].<sup>17</sup>

The date of Afrinus' consulate is usually taken to be about 66–68:<sup>18</sup> this inscription may permit more precision. Afrinus' colleague was the notorious C. Paccius Africanus, and the two were in office on a 6th of July.<sup>19</sup> Now the inscription in question exhibits a peculiarity: Afrinus is honored as consul. In the many Athenian dedications set up to Roman magistrates, it is very rare for the magistracy named to be one other than that held by the honorand in the province.<sup>20</sup> For a man to be honored simply as consul appears to be unique. Agrippa, who is called *τρίς ὑπατος*, is not a true parallel,<sup>21</sup> and the consul Ti. Claudius Callippianus Italicus either was consular *corrector* or held the consulate in absence.<sup>22</sup>

Is it possible that Afrinus also might have become consul in absence? The circumstances under which a man could have done so late in Nero's reign are easily imagined. On the 25th of September, 66,<sup>23</sup> the emperor set out on his Greek peregrination with a retinue of senators — Cluvius Rufus, for example, and the future emperor Vespasian.<sup>24</sup> Nero did not wish to leave possible rivals behind him, and the government of Rome was entrusted to the freedman Helius.<sup>25</sup> Affairs were conducted from Greece. It was to Greece that Cn. Domitius Corbulo was summoned, and thence Vespasian was sent to crush the Jewish rebellion.<sup>26</sup> Some, perhaps all, of those who became consuls while Nero was in Greece may have done so in absence from Rome. If Afrinus and Africanus did, it was in 67, since that was the only year that saw Nero in Greece during a July. The supposition gains force when it is remembered that Africanus brought about the downfall of the *Scribonii fratres* precisely during Nero's stay in Greece.<sup>27</sup> The consulate may have been his reward.

In 67, it may be concluded, M. Annius Afrinus was honored by the Areopagus, council, and assembly of Athens for his goodwill to the city. Ammonius is presented by Plutarch in the same year as the head of a philosophic group and, about the same time, as hoplite general. The likelihood is great that, among his benefactions to Athens, M. Annius Afrinus obtained the Roman citizenship for the prominent citizen and philosopher, and hence the names "M. Annius" borne by Ammonius' descendants. Afrinus' goodwill to Athens and his patronage of an eminent Athenian are not without a larger historical interest. The





emperor Hadrian, who likewise visited Athens and took a lively interest in its culture, may have been related to him.<sup>28</sup>

The accompanying stemma is that of Ammonius' posterity, made up both from evidence already reviewed and evidence so far omitted from the argument as unproblematical. Annotation refers only to the latter.

To sum up. The philosopher Ammonius (no teacher is named, or parent) arrived from Egypt in Athens, and gathered about him a group of pupils socially and intellectually respectable.<sup>35</sup> He also became hoplite general three times, a position that conferred great prestige and demanded heavy expense.<sup>36</sup> The Roman citizenship could not long be delayed: the benefactor was apparently M. Annius Afrinus, consul when Nero visited Greece in 67.

Ammonius' posterity followed him into civic life, but not, it seems, into philosophy. His only known son,<sup>37</sup> Thrasyllus, was herald of the Areopagus.<sup>38</sup> Thrasyllus' grandson of the same name made a splendid benefaction to his fellow ephebes in the year of Hadrian's archonship. The younger Thrasyllus' daughter became the wife of an archon, his son's daughter, wife of a councillor. Similarly, the family remained for generations active in public religion. Ammonius himself had been devoted to Apollo, and his wife to Demeter and Core. Their grandson was the munificent priest of Delian Apollo for many years, and his wife an equally prominent priestess of the Eleusinian goddesses. The granddaughter of this devout pair, Annia Aristocleia, married a son of the exegete Boulon, and a girl born to them became hierophantis.

The career of Ammonius thus becomes valuable evidence for the status of philosophy under Nero. The effect of that emperor on Greek culture was profound and enduring. More important than the soon retracted grant of independence, he gave unprecedented honors to the arts of Greece. In rhetoric he can be credited with setting on its gilded course the movement later known as the "Second Sophistic":<sup>39</sup> Ammonius shows that philosophy was not neglected.

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## NOTES

A version of this paper was read at the meeting of the American Philological Association held at Providence, R.I., in December 1965. I am very grateful to Prof. G. W. Bowersock of Harvard, who has advised me throughout the writing of it, and to my colleague, Prof. J. M. Rist, who criticized an early draft.

1. A. Stein, *Epitymbion Swoboda* (1927) 300ff.

2. G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (1965) *passim*, esp. chap. 3, "Greeks in the Imperial Service."

3. Cf. J. von Arnim, *RE* 1.1862 no. 12; P. Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan* (1931) 150ff; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 563 (where the reference to *de facie in orbe lunae* 940C, misprinted as "490," should be deleted); K. Ziegler, *RE* 21.651ff.

4. Nero left Rome for Greece on September 25th, 66 (A. D. Momigliano, *CAH* 10.735 n.1); he was still there in September, 67 (Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* 3.540, 542), and probably stayed a few months more.

5. Mr. R. M. Ogilvie has kindly informed me that he would take the dramatic date to be the Pythia of 79 or 83, for independent reasons to be published in *Phoenix*. There is no sign that Ammonius died before 80, despite Ziegler, *RE* 21.652.

6. The clearest indication is the presence of the young man Diogenianus as an interlocutor (395A). His father of the same name was a close friend and apparently a contemporary of Plutarch (Ziegler, *RE* 21.672f).

7. Therefore 66 and 81, dates commonly given for two of Ammonius' generalships (Graindor [above, n.3] 78, followed by T. C. Sarikakis, *The Hoplite General in Athens* [1951] 40), may be right.

8. No. 84. The work may have been a dialogue in which Ammonius was the chief interlocutor (Ziegler, *RE* 21.652).

9. A. N. Skias, *Ephemeris Archeologike* (1897) 57 no. 35; *IG* 2/3<sup>2</sup> 3558. Omitted from *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 563 and, less excusably, by Ziegler, *RE* 21.651ff. The stemmata of Ammonius given by Graindor (above, n.3) 151 and J. Kirchner on *IG* 2/3<sup>2</sup> 3557 are demonstrably erroneous.

10. On the hoplite general see below, n.36. On the herald of the Areopagus, see Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste* (1927) 110-11, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan* (1931) 65 (omitting Thrasyllus from n.3).

11. Serapion: J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* Suppl. 8 (1949) 243ff. Plutarch's tribe: *quaest. conuiu.* 628A. The Menandrian actor Q. Marcius Strato, who can be identified with the comoedus Strato mentioned by Plutarch, *ibid.* 673C, cf. *οἱ Μένανδρον ὑποκρινόμενοι*, *ibid.* 673B, was also of Cholleidae (*IG* 2/3<sup>2</sup> 12664; cf. M. Bonaria, *RE* Suppl. 10.925). Cf. R. Flacelière, *REG* 64 (1951) 325ff.

12. *IG* 2/3<sup>2</sup> 3546, 3557, 3559, 3560, 4753, 4754.

13. *IG* 2/3<sup>2</sup> 3557, dedicated by Flavia Laodameia to Junia Melitine, daughter of D. Junius Patron. His archonship was dated *ca.* 138 by Graindor, who however took him to be the son of Flavia Laodameia (*Chronologie des Archontes athéniens sous l'Empire* [1922] 139f).

14. *IG* 2/3<sup>2</sup> 2024, lines 2-4 (unaccountably made a son of Thrasyllus by Graindor and Kirchner).

15. *Inscriptions de Délos* 2535, 2536. On the dates (113/14-125/26) see Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien* (1934) 25ff.

16. M. Annius, quaestor of Macedonia in 119 B.C. (*MRR* 1.526), cannot be considered.

17. *IG* 2/3<sup>2</sup> 4184.

18. "67 o poco dopo," A. Degrassi, *Fasti Consolari* (1952) 18; "c. 66," R. Syme, *Tacitus* (1958) 333 n.6 (but "c. 67," *ibid.* 792).

19. *CIL* 4.1544 (Pompeii), *M. Vinicius Vitalis exst pr. non. Iulias Afrino et Africano cos.*

20. Proconsuls: e.g., *IG* 2/3<sup>2</sup> 4106, 4115, 4118. Legate of Macedonia and Achaea: *IG* 2/3<sup>2</sup> 4174. Quaestor *pro praetore*: *IG* 2/3<sup>2</sup> 4120.
21. *IG* 2/3<sup>2</sup> 4122.
22. *IG* 2/3<sup>2</sup> 4215; von Premerstein suggested that he was consul in absence, *RE* 4.1651.
23. *CAH* 10.735 n.1.
24. Cluvius: Dio 63.14.3. Vespasian: Seutonius *Vesp.* 4.4, Dio 66.11.2.
25. Helius: Suetonius *Nero* 23.1 (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> H 55).
26. Corbulo: Dio 63.17.6. Vespasian: Josephus *Bell. Jud.* 3.8.
27. Dio 63.17.2-4, cf. Tacitus *Historiae* 4.41. Paccii in Greece: *IG* 5.69, line 35 (not before 117), *Mnemosyne* 47 (1919) 166 no. 13.
28. Afrinus and Hadrian: Syme, *Tacitus* (1958) 792.
29. *IG* 2/3<sup>2</sup> 3557, 3559.
30. *IG* 2/3<sup>2</sup> 3619.
31. *Hesperia* 33 (1964) 223f, no. 69, with Benjamin D. Meritt's commentary.
32. *IG* 2/3<sup>2</sup> 3557, 3619. On his archonship, see above, n.13.
33. *IG* 2/3<sup>2</sup> 3557. As hierophantis: *IG* 2/3<sup>2</sup> 3633.
34. *IG* 2/3<sup>2</sup> 3647.
35. There is no evidence that he became scholarch of the Academy, despite von Arnim, *RE* 1.1862 no. 12, Graindor (above, n.3) 152.
36. On the importance and duties of this office, see Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste* (1927) 115ff, T. C. Sarikakis (above, n.7) 11ff. According to Philostratus, the sophist Lollianus προῦστη . . . τοῦ Ἀθηναίων δήμου στρατηγῆσας αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄπλων (uit. *soph.* 526). On one occasion he used his earnings to help the city out of a financial difficulty (*ibid.* 526-27).
37. The supposed son Thrasybulus was created from a corruption in the text of *quaest. conuii.* 747B, cf. Ziegler, *RE* 21.666.
38. It has been argued that Ammonius received the Roman citizenship in 67; the consequence might appear to be that, since Thrasyllus does not bear the names "M. Annius" in *IG* 2/3<sup>2</sup> 3558, he was herald of the Areopagus before that year. But the absence of the Roman names is not a safe guide. Cf. the Athenian decree, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 796B (Claudius): the honorand is named Λαμπρίας Τειμοκράτους in a speech (line 26), Τίτος Στατεῖλιος Τίτου Στατειλίου Τειμοκράτους υἱὸς Λαμπρίας in an official text (line 38). In a private dedication like *IG* 2/3<sup>2</sup> 3558 the Roman names could easily have been omitted. If the argumentation on p. 208 is correct, Thrasyllus was only about 22 in 67 and presumably too young to be herald of the Areopagus. *A fortiori* he cannot be identified with the archon Thrasyllus of 61/62 (*IG* 2/3<sup>2</sup> 1990).
39. For Nero, not Nerva, as the emperor mentioned by Philostratus, *uit. soph.* 512, see A. Boulanger, *Aelius Aristide* (1923) 84 n.1.





## CICERO AND LICINIUS CALVUS

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CICERO'S tastes in literature and rhetoric were generally conservative. On such matters he did not always persuade the younger generation. It is recorded that Cicero had his differences of opinion with C. Licinius Calvus on the subject of oratory, and, as a critic of the "new poetry," he may not have found Calvus' verses entirely to his liking. Divergent tastes in literary form and style are attested. Does this imply that Cicero was also unhappy with Calvus' politics? The question is not an irrelevant one. Unlike his compatriot and bosom friend Valerius Catullus, Calvus was absorbed in the political as well as in the intellectual sphere. That is to be expected; for, again unlike Catullus, Calvus was born to politics. His family could boast a consul as early as the mid-fourth century B.C. And, more pertinent, his father had been a vocal and conspicuous tribune of the plebs, had reached a praetorship and governed a province before a premature death ended his career (see below). Calvus himself enjoyed a brief but intense life on the political stage, concentrated in the mid-50's B.C. No public office was secured, perhaps none sought, but Calvus made his presence felt with decisiveness in the forum and at the bar. The mid-50's comprised a period of high excitement and political crisis in which Cicero was intimately involved. The careers of the two men touched at several important points, and the relations between them merit careful consideration.

Personal and political animosity between Cicero and Calvus, it has been alleged, can be dated as early as 66.<sup>1</sup> In that year the poet's father C. Licinius Macer perished as the result of a prosecution *de repetundis*. The praetor who presided and conducted the trial was M. Tullius Cicero. Was Cicero responsible for the outcome? A letter to Atticus represents Cicero's difficult and ambiguous position: *Nos hic incredibili ac singulari populi uoluntate de C. Macro transegimus. cui cum aequi fuisset, tamen multo maiorem fructum ex populi existimatione illo damnato cepimus quam ex ipsius, si absolutus esset, gratia cepissimus.* (*Ad Att.* 1.4.2.) Cicero won applause from the populace but not, surely, because he engineered the conviction of Licinius Macer. On the contrary, *cui cum aequi fuisset* clearly indicates Cicero's inner sympathy

for the defendant.<sup>2</sup> The praise which he earned was for impartial conduct of the hearing and a scrupulous concern for justice.<sup>3</sup>

Macer was a figure of note and notoriety. He had been prominent in the literary world as well as in public office. He was an historian of early Rome whose works are well known to have been utilized, among others, by Livy.<sup>4</sup> The latter remarked that Macer had a penchant for exaggerating the exploits of his family, a not uncommon trait among annalists (Livy 7.9.5). The prevailing view that Livy's pro-plebeian passages in the early books derive from Macer, however, must remain an hypothesis. In the political arena, Macer is best remembered for the fiery tribunician speech of 73 put in his mouth by Sallust.<sup>5</sup> It is an appeal for the full restoration of *tribunicia potestas* and an attack on Sulla and the Sullani. In that year also should probably be placed his prosecution of C. Rabirius, the slayer of Saturninus.<sup>6</sup> One may connect with his anti-Sullan sentiments a speech *Pro Tuscis*, probably on behalf of Etruscan settlers dispossessed by Sulla's veterans.<sup>7</sup> Of his political activities after his tribunate nothing is known except that, at some point, he reached the praetorship and governed a province, thus provoking the extortion charge (Val. Max. 9.12.7). To assume that he remained a consistent *popularis* goes beyond the evidence. He was friendly with at least one Sullan adherent, the historian Cornelius Sisenna (Cic. *De Leg.* 1.7). Their common interests may, of course, have been intellectual rather than political. But more pertinent is the fact that Macer's leading spokesman at the trial of 66 was M. Licinius Crassus (Plut. *Cicero* 9.2), who had led Sulla's right wing at the Colline Gate and had made his fortune in the Sullan proscriptions. In 70, Crassus and Pompey presided over the restitution of tribunician power which Macer had advocated three years earlier.<sup>8</sup> But times changed and so did men. The conviction of Licinius Macer pleased the populace.

The accounts of Macer's death differ. Valerius Maximus (9.12.7) reports the story that he took his own life before a verdict was reached, in order to preserve his property for his family. That does not seem likely. Valerius is apparently smuggling in the motives for suicides of his own day, the principate of Tiberius, and he is certainly wrong in stating that the trial concluded with no verdict, as Cicero's letter shows.<sup>9</sup> Plutarch offers an alternative version that the shock of conviction precipitated a sudden seizure and death. Macer had been sure the case was going his way (Plut. *Cicero* 9.2). That in itself suggests that Cicero had taken no action to prejudice the jury against the defendant. There seems to be no reason to assume that Licinius Calvus bore any enmity toward Cicero for this affair. To be sure, Cicero, in works

written much later, expressed criticism of Macer's gifts as a writer and orator, and even hints at deficiencies in his character and habits.<sup>10</sup> That is hindsight and a judgment of personal taste and preference. It hardly makes Cicero an "avversario politico."<sup>11</sup> The contemporary letter to Atticus remains decisive. Licinius Calvus had nothing to complain of in Cicero's meticulous handling of his father's case.

In antiquity Calvus' forensic reputation rested primarily upon his public attacks on P. Vatinius. Rhetoricians and grammarians, as well as historians, read them, especially the "second speech" (Tac. *Dial.* 21). Several fragments of his orations against Vatinius survive. How many speeches there were, how often Vatinius was prosecuted, and which fragments belong to which speech are questions often discussed and will probably never admit of definitive solution. Since it is known, however, that Vatinius was among Cicero's most bitter enemies in the early 50's and that Cicero was finally induced to reverse himself and defend Vatinius in 54, it will be useful to set forth the evidence on Calvus' assaults against that individual. No reconstruction will find universal acceptance, but if all the testimony is set forth a basis for judgment can be more solidly grounded than it often has been in the past.

Vatinius' tribunate of 59 was devoted largely to assisting the projects and promulgating the legislation of Caesar and Pompey.<sup>12</sup> The steam-roller fashion in which the bills of the dynasts were rammed through was bound to have its repercussions. It was probably not long after he laid down his tribunate that Vatinius was indicted. The precise charge is unrecorded but the offense related to a violation of the *lex Licinia Iunia* (Cic. *In Vat.* 14.33). Since that measure, a consular bill of 62, dealt with the orderly passage of legislation,<sup>13</sup> it appears that Vatinius' bustling activity in 59 was under scrutiny.<sup>14</sup> Vatinius had already accepted a *legatio*, presumably under Caesar in Gaul, but returned voluntarily in order to clear himself. That the indictment came in 58 is established by the name of the presiding praetor, C. Memmius, who held office in that year.<sup>15</sup> Cicero describes the lengths to which Vatinius went in undermining the prosecution: an appeal to the tribunes, most particularly to P. Clodius, violence and threats, praetor, jurors, and accusers driven from the tribunal, benches upset and balloting urns overturned.<sup>16</sup> The trial was canceled.

The Bobbio scholiast, in commenting on Cicero's *In Vatinium*, affirms that the accuser in this case was C. Licinius Calvus.<sup>17</sup> This is the only piece of evidence on Calvus' involvement in the affair. The commentator's authority ought not to stand very high. The passage is

otherwise hopelessly erroneous. In stating that the charge was *de sodaliciis*, the scholiast has confused the *lex Licinia Iunia* with the *lex Licinia de sodaliciis* which was not passed until 55.<sup>18</sup> This error is compounded by the reference to a trial *de ui*, whereas the violence occurred only after the charges had been brought; a prosecution for violence would, in any case, have had to come under the *lex Plautia de ui*.<sup>19</sup> One cannot therefore exclude the possibility that the commentator has made another error in inserting Calvus' name here as the prosecutor, especially as Calvus did later prosecute Vatinius under the *lex Licinia de sodaliciis* (see below). Tacitus affirms that Calvus' earliest public oration, delivered against Vatinius, came when he was not much older than twenty-one, and Pliny dates his birth to 82 B.C.<sup>20</sup> That may support a prosecution in 58, but it should be pointed out that in the same passage Tacitus misdates Caesar's accusation of Dolabella to his twenty-first year, whereas that case was not heard until 77.<sup>21</sup> Consequently, an involvement of Calvus in the proceedings of 58, assumed by most scholars, rests on shaky ground. It is not, of course, to be denied categorically that Calvus delivered some hostile public remarks directed at Vatinius in 58. An anti-Vatinian stance by the budding young orator would have been approved by Cicero. It was in this very year that Vatinius was cooperating closely with Clodius and rejoiced openly at Cicero's enforced exile (Cic. *Pro Sest.* 64.133).

A second indictment of Vatinius by Calvus has also found its way into modern accounts: an alleged trial in 56. This rests on even shakier ground. It is certain that in 56 Cicero and Calvus were united in the political sphere. When Clodius and Vatinius mounted a judicial assault on P. Sestius, who had been instrumental in Cicero's recall from exile, counsel for the defense included both Cicero and Calvus.<sup>22</sup> That was no ordinary case. Sestius was a pretext, but Cicero was the real target, as he well knew. The *Pro Sestio* is devoted almost entirely to a defense of Cicero's own career. The exile had been restored, but the execution of the Catilinarians was still a live issue. That Calvus lent his assistance here against Cicero's most bitter enemies is a fact of real importance for his political sympathies.<sup>23</sup> As is well known, Cicero capped his successful defense of Sestius with a biting invective against Vatinius, a witness for the prosecution (Cic. *In Vat. passim*). In a letter to his brother, describing the results of the case, Cicero remarks that L. Aemilius Paullus, future consul of 50, threatened to initiate proceedings against Vatinius if Licinius Calvus failed to do so, whereupon Calvus rose to insist that he would not be found wanting.<sup>24</sup> But this hardly proves that such a prosecution was actually undertaken in 56.<sup>25</sup>



On what charge would this indictment proceed? The obvious answer is *de ambitu*, for Vatinius, after having failed to secure the aedileship in 57,<sup>26</sup> was nevertheless campaigning for the praetorship in 56, and employing unsavory if not illegal methods. In his invective against Vatinius, Cicero asserted that his use of gladiators to promote his candidacy violated Cicero's own law against *ambitus* and laid him open to prosecution.<sup>27</sup> There is no question that the threat of a criminal trial for electoral tampering hung over Vatinius' head, and it is not unlikely that Calvus, carrying out his promise, was already preparing a dossier to use against him. But there is nothing to show that a case was heard in 56.<sup>28</sup> Prosecutions for *ambitus* did not normally come in the course of an election campaign, though threats of prosecution naturally were frequent.<sup>29</sup> A defeated candidate was not worth prosecuting, and Vatinius' election was far from a sure thing. His chief rival was M. Porcius Cato, recently returned from his commission to annex Cyprus, and backed by powerful support. The elections were delayed by violence and disorder into the year 55. Pompey and Crassus overbore opposition to their election as consuls, and both were concerned to secure the victory of Vatinius at the expense of Cato.<sup>30</sup> Through intimidation, corruption, and open force the aim seemed achieved. But Vatinius' enemies still hoped to eliminate him in the courts. In February of 55 a proposal was mooted in the senate to have the newly chosen praetors remain private citizens for sixty days after their election. The motive was transparently to produce an interval in which Vatinius might be condemned for electoral transgression. Crassus and Pompey, already installed as consuls, quashed the motion.<sup>31</sup> It is clear then that Vatinius assumed office immediately after his election; hence no judicial proceedings could have been brought against him until 54.

Calvus, we may be sure, kept his dossier up to date. There will have been much to add from the shameless activities in late 56 and early 55. But M. Cicero in 54 was no longer the fiery and independent orator of 56. The conference of Luca had intervened and the unhappy Cicero had already gone on record for an extension of Caesar's command in the *De Provinciis Consularibus* and had appeared in defense of Cornelius Balbus, a protégé of the dynasts. The orator still felt free enough to oppose Vatinius' candidature for the praetorship and to support Cato's claims, but after Vatinius' election, Pompey applied pressure directly and enforced a reconciliation between the embittered enemies (Cic. *Ad Fam.* 1.9.19). In 54, after public office no longer afforded protection, the prosecution, long delayed, was at last put into operation. It was Cicero who suffered the greatest embarrassment. Julius Caesar sent



word that he regarded it as urgent that Cicero undertake the defense. The orator had no recourse but to comply.<sup>32</sup> As might be expected, it was a venture for which he was to receive much criticism.<sup>33</sup> Vatinius, it may be assumed, was acquitted, for he appears later as a legate of Caesar in Gaul (Caes. *B.G.* 8.46.4). Cicero regarded a successful defense in this case as no problem at all.<sup>34</sup> The Caesarian general expressed gratitude later and we possess an interchange of letters in 45 B.C., in which the two men express mutual admiration.<sup>35</sup> But one need have no doubts that Cicero's real feelings about Vatinius remained unaltered. An anecdote reveals them. After Cicero had heard a false report of Vatinius' death he met one of the latter's freedmen. "Is all well?" he inquired. The freedman replied that it was. "So Vatinius is dead then?" was the orator's retort (Quintilian 6.3.84).

Was the case of Vatinius in 54 that in which Calvus brought the accusation? It would be perverse to deny it.<sup>36</sup> The charge against Vatinius, it appears, was *de sodaliciis*. In his speech for Cn. Plancius, who was definitely prosecuted on this ground in 54, Cicero states that the right to challenge five jurors was granted to the last defendant under this charge (*Pro Plancio* 16.40). The Bobbio scholiast on this passage identifies that defendant as Vatinius and his counsel as Cicero himself.<sup>37</sup> There is no reason to doubt this statement, whereas the errors of that commentator are readily explicable on the assumption that this remark is accurate. The scholiast, as has been noted, links the charge *de sodaliciis* with a prosecution by Calvus, although he wrongly retrojected it to 58 when that crime had not yet even been defined.<sup>38</sup> A trial in 54 would naturally come under the purview of the *lex Licinia de sodaliciis* passed in 55.<sup>39</sup>

That Calvus attacked Vatinius for *ambitus* is evident from the fragments of his oration.<sup>40</sup> These ought not to be ascribed to a separate trial *de ambitu*. The *lex Licinia de sodaliciis* of 55 dealt with a wide range of abuses including the activities of political clubs in electoral corruption. When Plancius was charged under this law, the prosecutors were referring primarily to bribery and intimidation in the elections.<sup>41</sup> The case of Vatinius was no different.<sup>42</sup> Another quotation from Calvus' speech puts it beyond question that he attacked Vatinius on the grounds of his electoral campaign for the praetorship: *perfrica frontem et dic te digniorem qui praetor fieres quam Catonem*.<sup>43</sup> Since a prosecution before the election would have been pointless and one after the election was foreclosed, Calvus' accusation is obviously to be associated with Vatinius' trial in 54.<sup>44</sup>

The conclusion seems inescapable that Licinius Calvus and M.

Cicero crossed swords in the trial of Vatinius. A remark of Seneca also warrants mention in this connection: *Calvus, qui diu cum Cicerone iniquissimam litem de principatu eloquentiae habuit, usque eo uiolentus actor et concitatus fuit, ut in media eius actione surgeret Vatinius reus et exclamaret: "rogo uos, iudices, num si iste disertus est, ideo me daminari oportet?"* (Controu. 7.4.6). The young orator impressed his listeners and even challenged Cicero for the primacy of the bar, but was still no match for the old master. The illustration from the trial of Vatinius may not be coincidental. Cicero won his case and Calvus, eloquent though he was, ended on the losing side.

Only just prior to the trial of Vatinius a similar confrontation had taken place and with similar results. M. Livius Drusus Claudianus, charged with *praeuariatio*, i.e. collusive prosecution, was defended by Cicero, and acquitted on the very day that the Vatinius case was about to be heard.<sup>45</sup> The prosecution had been set in motion two months earlier by a certain Lucretius (Cic. *Ad Att.* 4.16.5). But Lucretius need not have been the only speaker against Drusus Claudianus. Tacitus reports that among the little-read orations of C. Calvus was a speech against Drusus.<sup>46</sup> It seems not unreasonable to associate that attack with the trial in 54. The parallels with the case of Vatinius are unmistakable.

Livius Drusus Claudianus, as is obvious from the name, was born a Claudius but adopted by the family of the Livii Drusi, possibly indeed by the famous tribune of 91. His pedigree was illustrious, his progeny even more illustrious. His daughter Livia was to be the wife of one *princeps* and the mother of a second.<sup>47</sup> Of his own career little is known, but a reference to his political stance in 59 is revealing and pertinent. Cicero depicts him as a loyal adherent of Caesar and the triumvirs and, significantly, couples him in this connection with P. Vatinius.<sup>48</sup> This helps to explain the individuals involved in his prosecution five years later. The Lucretius is most plausibly identified with Q. Lucretius, a senator and commander of Pompeian troops against Caesar in the civil war.<sup>49</sup> In 54 he did not miss the opportunity to attack a creature of Caesar. Nor would Calvus have missed it. Livius Drusus was just the type of Caesarian hanger-on whom Calvus enjoyed piercing with poetic barbs. Once more Drusus was coupled with P. Vatinius; both men were assaulted before the bar by Licinius Calvus, both defended by M. Tullius Cicero. The defense of Drusus doubtless was another of those unhappy tasks extorted from Cicero by his new "friends." It was not so painful as his appearance for Vatinius, but Cicero's heart was clearly not in the job.<sup>50</sup> The outcome was also identical with the Vatinius case;

Cicero reports the acquittal laconically: *Drusus, Scaurus non fecisse uidentur* (*Ad Att.* 4.17.5).

Twice now, it appears, the young poet and the veteran *patronus* had clashed in the courts. Had a political breach opened between them? That thesis has its advocates.<sup>51</sup> Calvus, it is claimed, showed consistency and courage, while Cicero's voice was captured by the triumvirs.<sup>52</sup> That may be a hasty conclusion. Another prosecution in 54 shows Licinius Calvus in a different light.

In July of that year, an ex-aedile C. Messius faced trial on charges unspecified in the evidence (*Cic. Ad Att.* 4.15.9). Messius was remembered for his actions as tribune in 57 on Pompey's behalf. A consular bill in that year gave Pompey supervision of the grain supply for a five year period. This was not good enough for Messius, who proposed that there be added a control over finances, a fleet, an army, and *maius imperium* (*Cic. Ad Att.* 4.1.7). In 54 Messius reaped his reward: a *legatio* on the staff of Caesar in Gaul (*Cic. Ad Att.* 4.15.9). Here, if ever, there was an adherent of the dynasts; here another likely target for Calvus' barbs, if that young orator were truly "consistent." Yet the elder Seneca quotes a passage from one of Calvus' speeches designated as *Pro Messio* in which he pled, it seems, for pity on behalf of the defendant: *credite mihi, non est turpe misereri* (*Seneca Controu.* 7.4.8). No context is provided, but Calvus' appearance here was probably at the trial of 54, his busiest forensic year.<sup>53</sup> The charge is unknown, but Messius, like Vatinius, was elected to office in the turbulent and riotous campaigns of 55.<sup>54</sup> Hence possibly he too was subject to a prosecution for *ambitus* under the terms of the *lex Licinia de sodaliciis*.<sup>55</sup>

There must have been strong reasons indeed to induce Licinius Calvus to come to the defense of C. Messius, especially if this was, in fact, the same year in which he lambasted P. Vatinius for the same offense. What those reasons were eludes conjecture. But it is known that Cicero also appeared in court on Messius' behalf (*Cic. Ad Att.* 4.15.9). Nor was this just another unwelcome task assigned by Caesar and Pompey. Cicero had an obligation towards Messius, who, in 57, had proposed a measure to secure the orator's recall from exile and who justified his action on the grounds of *amicitia* as well as of the *res publica*.<sup>56</sup> That Calvus appeared for Messius out of deference to Cicero would be a risky inference. But obviously the two advocates were co-operating here, in a case which was much more meaningful to Cicero than his half-hearted defense of Vatinius and of Drusus Claudianus.

Calvus is connected with still another case in 54. Adherents and hangers-on of men in power were always numerous. Among them was

a young, excitable, and aggressive individual named C. Porcius Cato.<sup>57</sup> As tribune in 56 he took the lead in delaying the consular elections until the following year, thereby promoting directly the aims of Pompey and Crassus.<sup>58</sup> It had not always been that way with Cato. Earlier he had shown an independent streak and was most conspicuous as a virulent and sharp-tongued critic of Pompey and Pompey's friends like Gabinius and Milo.<sup>59</sup> In late 57 he was to be seen acting in Clodius' interests, and Pompey alleged in February of 56 that Cato was an agent of Crassus.<sup>60</sup> Attacks on Pompey continued, and Cato also took the leadership during his tribunate in the move to block Lentulus Spinther from restoring Ptolemy Auletes.<sup>61</sup> Yet the conference of Luca, as so often, was a turning point. Cato was a different man in late 56. When Pompey and Crassus cooperated, Cato collaborated, and it was not long before he was to come into the good graces of Milo and Cicero as well.<sup>62</sup> With Cicero reconciliation was perhaps not so difficult. Even in early 56, at the height of his attacks on Pompey, Cato had lofty praise for the recently returned exile, praise which Cicero grudgingly acknowledged.<sup>63</sup>

In 54 Cato had to answer for his actions. A charge was leveled under the *lex Licinia Iunia* obviously involving his actions as a tribune in 56. That trial was ended by the beginning of July in 54, and a second prosecution was added under the *lex Fufia*, also doubtless with reference to his tribunician activities and perhaps his efforts to delay the elections on behalf of the dynasts.<sup>64</sup> He secured acquittal in both instances (Cic. *Ad Att.* 4.15.4). The young intellectual Asinius Pollio made his debut here as prosecutor at the tender age of twenty-one, according to Tacitus.<sup>65</sup> Pollio was in the circle of Catullus (Catullus 12) and was also a friend of Licinius Calvus (see below). Surely Calvus should have been expected to welcome Pollio's action.

Yet here, as in the case of Messius, the poet was on the other side; Cato, it appears, was his client.<sup>66</sup> The testimony is a strange passage of Seneca which has received little attention: *idem* (Calvus) *postea cum uideret a clientibus Catonis rei sui Pollionem Asinium circumuentum in foro caedi, inponi se supra cippum iussit . . . et iurauit, si quam iniuriam Cato Pollioni Asinio accusatori suo fecisset, se in eum iuraturum calumniam; nec umquam postea Pollio a Catone aduocatisque eius aut re aut uerbo uiolatus est.*<sup>67</sup> *Reus suus* is a rare construction, but in the context of this passage, it cannot mean "the man whom Calvus was prosecuting."<sup>68</sup> When Cato's retainers menaced Pollio with violence in the streets, Calvus denounced their tactics and threatened to prosecute Cato himself. The phrase *in eum calumniam iurare* possesses a technical meaning. It was an action taken by an *accusator* at the outset of a trial: the



forswearing of any malicious intent in bringing the charge.<sup>69</sup> Seneca uses the phrase here as a short-hand expression for the initiation of an *accusatio*.<sup>70</sup> Since, therefore, Calvus was issuing a threat to undertake proceedings, it follows that he was not already engaged in prosecuting Cato. Moreover, it is otherwise very difficult to see how such a threat would have frightened off Pollio's assailants.<sup>71</sup> *Catonis rei sui* must mean that Cato was represented by Calvus.

As Seneca reveals, however, Calvus' appearance on Cato's behalf did not involve any severance of ties with his friend Pollio. Again it is apparent that Calvus' heart was not in the task of defense attorney, and this could explain Cicero's otherwise obscure remark that, if Cato is acquitted, his counsel will be even less pleased than his prosecutors. That reference may well be to Calvus.<sup>72</sup> It might be added that M. Aemilius Scaurus also contributed to the defense of Cato (Asconius 18, Clark) and that Cato returned the favor later in the same year in Scaurus' trial *de repetundis* (Asconius 28, Clark). Scaurus, as is well known, was represented by a glittering array of distinguished and powerful members of the aristocracy who appeared as advocates or character witnesses, climaxed by the speech of Cicero himself.<sup>73</sup>

It seems clear then that Licinius Calvus, in at least two instances, spoke before the bar in behalf of men who were known supporters of the regime. He can hardly have broken off relations with Cicero for doing the same. Advocates might have many reasons for taking a case, and political disagreement with the opposing counsel was not the only or even a frequent motive. One need reflect only on the many instances in which Cicero and Hortensius found themselves on the same or on opposite sides of a legal or political contest. In the trial of Sestius, when Cicero himself was truly under heavy attack, Calvus had lent his services in Cicero's cause. That was the real test. For all we know, it may have been on Cicero's request that Calvus acted as *patronus* for Messius and Cato. In any event, Cicero could certainly have felt no personal offense if Calvus stuck to his principles in the cases of Vatinius and Drusus. Cicero held no brief for these individuals himself, except in the most literal sense.

Calvus is customarily listed among the "anti-triumviral" poets. His vicious lampoons of Caesar were known to Suetonius (*Iul.* 49.1). He used the pen also to abuse Pompey,<sup>74</sup> and at least one adherent of Caesar, Tigellius, felt the sting as well.<sup>75</sup> This political posture, of course, is all of a piece with Calvus' attacks on Vatinius. But labels can be misleading and political allegiances in late Republican Rome were seldom stable. It was probably some time after the conference of Luca that



Caesar made overtures to Catullus which, although at first snubbed, eventually resulted in reconciliation.<sup>76</sup> Similar overtures were made to Calvus, and here the initiative seems to have been on the part of the poet himself.<sup>77</sup> It ought not to be assumed that Calvus, in any sense, became a "Caesarian."<sup>78</sup> A personal burying of the hatchet with Caesar probably foreclosed any anti-Caesarian verses, but that is as much as can be said. It certainly did not prevent the recurrence of Calvus' embittered feud with P. Vatinius. The volatile and excitable Licinius Calvus was nobody's stooge.

Reconciliation with Julius Caesar was one more experience shared by Calvus and Cicero in the mid-50's. It should by now be apparent that political animosity between these two orators is unattested and unlikely. Differences in literary opinions ought not to color any view of relations between them, especially as so little survives. Of Calvus' work no poem is preserved, and practically no fragments. Cicero's tastes in verse, to be sure, were conservative. A few casual remarks reveal indifference, if not scorn, for the men whom he terms *noui poetae* (*Orat.* 161), or *cantores Euphorionis* (*Tusc. Disp.* 3.45), or, more flippantly, *οἱ νεώτεροι* (*Ad Att.* 7.2.1). That Calvus is among the targets of these jibes is perhaps likely but should not be taken for granted. He was, it is true, an intimate friend of Catullus and shared his poetic predilections (Catullus 14; 50; 96). The two men are often cited by later admirers in combination.<sup>79</sup> Yet it is sobering to recall that Cicero's single specific reference to the verses of Calvus is not unflattering. Neither man had any use for the foul Caesarian supporter Tigellius, and Cicero judged that that individual had been admirably characterized by a poem of Calvus.<sup>80</sup> As for Catullus, the famous poem addressed to Cicero (49) showers praise upon the orator. Excessive praise, some have argued, and perhaps the *optimus omnium patronus* is deliberate irony, referring even to Cicero's volte-face on Vatinius.<sup>81</sup> But Catullus' purpose is not subject to demonstration. Cicero had, it appears, performed a service for the poet for which gratitude is here extended.<sup>82</sup> The verses may reflect sincere and genuine admiration, or, at least, good-humored bantering.<sup>83</sup> Relations between Cicero and these leaders of the *noui poetae*, whatever their artistic tastes, were cordial if not intimate.

Yet surely Cicero expressed strong dislike of Calvus' oratorical style and powers, it is said. Such, at least, Tacitus would have us believe. He reports an exchange of correspondence between the two men, each harshly critical and allegedly spurred by envy and ill humor.<sup>84</sup> But that is the historian's judgment and perhaps a hasty one. The correspondence

does not survive, but the fact that it was carried on at all may suggest more than a nodding acquaintance.<sup>85</sup> Calvus worked laboriously and meticulously on pruning his style in the tight, terse, "Attic" fashion. Such a technique, of course, did not suit the more flamboyant and demonstrative style of Cicero. But the testimony from Cicero's own pen hardly amounts to a denunciation of Calvus. The primary criticism of the "Attic school" rests on its loose usage of the word "Attic." Surely Lysias, Cicero argues, was no more "Attic" than Demosthenes or Aeschines. Those who choose to follow a particular model do not have the right to appropriate for themselves the titles of genuine heirs of Athenian oratory (Cic. *Brutus* 284-91). As for Calvus specifically, Cicero criticizes his approach but the verdict on his talent and promise is highly flattering. Death, he says, tragically cut short a forensic career which would certainly have earned Calvus a great reputation for eloquence.<sup>86</sup> Calvus was a man of much learning and discrimination; his fault, in Cicero's eyes, was simply overmeticulousness. So much diligence and energy was spent on polishing and honing his orations that they lacked the fire to move his audience. Scholars and experts would appreciate the finer points, but the average man missed them altogether.<sup>87</sup> Quintilian, more accurately perhaps than Tacitus, understood Cicero's judgment of Calvus as a favorable one with the above reservations. Calvus suffered only from excessive caution and self-criticism, a drawback which might have been overcome if fate had vouchsafed him a longer life.<sup>88</sup> That Cicero thought highly of Calvus' oratorical talents is proved by a letter in 47 to Trebonius who had just come upon a Ciceronian epistle praising Calvus and who questioned its sincerity. Cicero assured Trebonius that he had meant every word. Calvus' sparse style was not to Cicero's taste since it lacked compelling force, but the young orator was erudite, talented, and showed great promise. Cicero had written to encourage and exhort him to greater heights (*Ad Fam.* 15.21.4). These are not the sentiments of a rival or an *inimicus*.

It is unlikely that these two men were close intimates. They were of different generations. Nor was Calvus a protégé of Cicero like Caelius or Trebatius. He was too independent and self-sufficient for that. But the evidence suggests cordial relations and mutual respect. Neither literary tastes nor political allegiances drove any wedge between M. Cicero and C. Calvus.<sup>89</sup>

## NOTES

1. E. Castorina, *Licinio Calvo* (Catania 1946) 23-24, 69; J. H. Collins, "Cicero and Catullus," *CJ* 48 (1952) 14-15; L. Trencsenyi-Waldapfel, "Calvus ex Nanneianis," *Athenaeum* 52 (1954) 45.

2. So, rightly, R. Y. Tyrell and L. C. Purser, *The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero*<sup>3</sup> (Dublin and London 1904) I 143, and now D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero's Letters to Atticus* (Cambridge 1965) I 288, who translates: "Though I had been favorable to him (and so should have liked to see him acquitted)."

3. Cf. Plut. *Cicero* 9.2: τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα τῷ Κικέρωνι δόξαν ἤνεγκαν ὥς ἐπιμελῶς βαβεύσαντι τὸ δικαστήριον.

4. H. Peter, *Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae* (Leipzig 1914) I cccli-ccclxv; R. M. Ogilvie, *Livy: Books 1-5* (Oxford 1965) 7-12.

5. *Historiae* 3.48 Maurenbrecher.

6. Cic. *Pro Rab. Perd.* 2.7; a passage which need not imply that the murder of Saturninus was the actual charge against Rabirius, as is assumed, e.g., by E. Ciaceri, *Cicerone e i suoi tempi*<sup>2</sup> (Rome 1939-41) I 129.

7. Cf. F. Münzer, *RE* 25.420 "Licinius" no. 112. A single fragment of the speech is preserved: *quos oportuit amissa restituere, hisce etiam reliquias auerrunt*; H. Malcovati, *Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta*<sup>2</sup> (Turin 1955) 358. Cf. also Macer's remarks in the Sallustian speech: *arcem habent ex spoliis uostris*; 3.48.6 Maur.

8. If Sallust is to be believed, Macer had predicted the support of Pompey for tribunician reform; 3.48.23 Maur.

9. Cf. Münzer, "Die Todesstrafe in der Römischen Republik," *Hermes* 47 (1912) 181-82.

10. *De Leg.* 1.7; *Brutus* 238. At some point, it appears, Macer had to defend his career and conduct in a letter to the senate; Nonius 259, Mueller (= 395, Lindsay). Cicero's opinion of him, of course, need not have remained static. It might be mentioned that between Macer's death and the writing of the *De Legibus* Cicero had been the defense counsel for C. Rabirius, a man once prosecuted by Macer.

11. So Ciaceri, *Cicerone* I 130; also Castorina, *Licinio Calvo* 23-24. Cicero, in fact, has some praise for Macer's diligence in invention and arrangement; *Brutus* 238.

12. T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* (New York 1952) II 190.

13. G. Rotondi, *Leges Publicae populi romani* (Milan 1912, repr. Hildesheim 1961) 383; Broughton, *MRR* II 173.

14. L. G. Pocock, *A Commentary on Cicero In Vatinius* (London 1926) 169-75, suggests that Vatinius promoted the laws confirming Pompey's *acta* and that these formed the basis of the charge.

15. Broughton, *MRR* II 194. But Broughton wrongly states that Memmius "attempted to prosecute Vatinius." Cicero, *In Vat.* 14.33, says simply *edixeritne C. Memmius praetor ex ea lege, ut adesses die tricensimo*, and explicitly distinguishes Memmius from the *accusatores*: *sciasne tum fugisse Memmium, accusatores esse tuos de tuis tuorumque manibus ereptos* (*In Vat.* 14.34).

16. *In Vat.* 14.33-34; cf. H. Gundel, *RE* (2) 15.503-4 "Vatinius" no. 3.
17. Schol. Bob. 150, Stangl: *Crimine de sodaliciis Vatinius coeperat accusari, de quo puniendo iis legibus cauebatur* (on *In Vat.* 33) . . . *Haec facta sunt cum reus esset de vi P. Vatinius accusante C. Licinio* (on *In Vat.* 34).
18. Broughton, *MRR* II 215; cf. Pocock, *Comm. Cic. Vat.* 186.
19. Cf. Broughton, *MRR* II 128; 130 n.4.
20. Tac. *Dial.* 34.7; Pliny *NH* 7.165; cf. Quint. 12.6.1.
21. On this case, cf. E. S. Gruen, "The Dolabellae and Sulla," *AJP* 87 (1966) 386-89. Tacitus is wrong also on the age of L. Crassus, which he gives as nineteen in his maiden prosecution. Crassus, in fact, was twenty-one; Cic. *De Orat.* 3.74.
22. See Cic. *Pro Sest.* *passim*; for Calvus' role, see Schol. Bob. 125, Stangl.
23. It has been argued that Cicero and Calvus were opposing advocates in another trial of 56. P. Asicius, an agent of Ptolemy Auletes, was tried for the murder of the Alexandrine philosopher and envoy Dio and successfully defended by Cicero; Cic. *Pro Cael.* 10.23-24. Tacitus records a little-read speech of Calvus *In Asitium*; *Dial.* 21. Emendation to *Asicium* is easy; the identification was made by Klebs, *RE* 2.1579 "Asicius," and has found favor; cf. Malcovati, *ORF* 499; R. G. Austin, *Cicero, Pro Caelio*<sup>3</sup> (Oxford 1960) 75. Even if correct, however, it hardly suggests political opposition between Cicero and Calvus. The case was not of great consequence and, so far as we know, Cicero never bothered to write up and publish his speech. It carries no weight beside Calvus' defense of Sestius and, by implication, of the recall of Cicero.
24. Cic. *Ad Q. Frat.* 2.4.1: *Quin etiam Paullus noster cum testis productus esset in Sestium, confirmavit se nomen Vatini delaturum, si Macer Licinius cunctaretur, et Macer ab Sesti subsellis surrexit ac se illi non defuturum adfirmavit.*
25. As maintained by H. Meyer, *Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta* (Turin 1842) 475, Castorina, *Licinio Calvo* 45-46, and Malcovati, *ORF* 495.
26. Cic. *In Vat.* 7.16; 15.36; 16.39.
27. Cic. *In Vat.* 15.37: *cum mea lex dilucide uetet 'Biennio quo quis petat petiturusve sit gladiatores dare nisi ex testamento praestituta die,' quae tanta in te sit amentia ut in ipsa petitione gladiatores audeas dare?* Similarly also Cic. *Pro Sest.* 64.135: *Quem non tam admiror, quod meam legem contemnit hominis inimici, quam quod sic statuit, omnino consularem legem nullam putare.*
28. It is sometimes asserted that the remark of Schol. Bob. 145, Stangl (on *In Vat.* 10) *Reus postulatus erat accusatore C. Licinio Calvo*, refers to a trial of 56; e.g., by Meyer *ORF* 475; Ciaceri, *Cicerone* II 121. Yet that is to take the remark entirely out of context. In fact, the scholiast is speaking of Vatinius' candidature for the quaestorship in 64, in which he was returned at the bottom of the list and was still insecure because of a possible judicial condemnation: *uero huic Vatinius et honorem quaesturae post omnes nouissimo loco datum et damnationis eius nutare fortunam*. Thus, even if this statement is accurate, it makes no reference to the situation in 56. But it merits no credence in any event. Calvus was only eighteen in 64, if Pliny's date for his birth is correct; *NH* 7.165. To be sure, Münzer, on other grounds, puts Calvus' birth in 88; *RE* 25.429 "Licinius" no. 113. But, whatever the real date, if Pliny put it in 82, Tacitus, who of course knew and used his works, probably accepted that date. It is impossible to believe that Tacitus, *Dial.* 34.7, refers to a prosecution by Calvus as early as 64; see above. On the date of Calvus' birth, see Castorina,



*Licinio Calvo* 12-19. Castorina's view, however, that Calvus prosecuted Vatinius in 62 after the latter's quaestorship (p. 40) is entirely without foundation. The passage in the scholiast is probably worthless, and certainly does not buttress any argument for a trial of Vatinius in 56. H. Comfort, "The Date of Catullus LIII," *CP* 30 (1935) 75, is rightly skeptical about any judicial proceedings in that year, but for none of the right reasons. He maintains that Calvus would not have carried on an accusation after Cicero had ceased to attack the triumvirate. But in 54, while Cicero was openly defending the adherents of the dynasts, Calvus was still launching attacks upon them; see below.

29. Cf. [Q. Cic.] *Petit. Cons.* 14.55; Cic. *Pro Mur.* 21.43ff.

30. Plut. *Cato* 42; *Pomp.* 52; Dio 39.27; 39.30-32.

31. Cic. *Ad Q. Frat.* 2.7.3: *Sed magno cum gemitu senatus consules non sunt persecuti eorum sententias qui, Afranio cum essent adsensi addiderunt ut praetores ita crearentur ut dies sexaginta priuati essent. Eo die Catonem plane repudiarunt;* Plut. *Cato Min.* 42: οἱ [Crassus and Pompey] δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δέισαντες, ὥς τῆς στρατηγίας ἀξιωμαχοῦ διὰ Κάτωνα πρὸς τὴν ὑπατείαν γενησομένης πρῶτον μὲν ἐξαίφνης καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἀγνοούντων βουλὴν συναγαγόντες, ἐψηφίσαντο τοὺς αἰρεθέντας στρατηγοὺς εὐθὺς ἄρχειν καὶ μὴ διαλιπόντας τὸν νόμιμον χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ <δὲ> καὶ τοῖς δεκάσσι τὸν δῆμον ἦσαν.

32. Cic. *Ad Fam.* 1.9.19: *Post autem Caesaris ut illum defenderem mira contentio est consecuta;* cf. Cic. *Ad Q. Frat.* 3.5-6. For Cicero's defense of Vatinius, see also Asconius 18, Clark, who dates it to 54.

33. [Sallust] *Inuect. in Cic.* 7: *Quos tyrannos appellabas, eorum potentiae faues . . . Vatini causam agis, de Sestio male existimas;* Cic. *Ad Fam.* 1.9.19; cf. Quint. 11.1.73. Val. Max. 4.2.4 affirms that Cicero defended Vatinius in two separate cases, a statement accepted by Pocock, *Comm. Cic. Vat.* 193. But it is probable that Valerius is making an error similar to that of the Bobbio scholiast, 150 Stangl, who referred to the trial of 58 as *de sodaliciis*; W. Drumann-P. Groebe, *Geschichte Roms* (Leipzig 1929) VI 31 n.7. Cicero defended Vatinius on that charge, but only in 54. The earlier case involved the *lex Licinia Iunia*, not the *lex Licinia de sodaliciis*, and Cicero, of course, was no adherent of Vatinius in 58; see above.

34. Cic. *Ad Q. Frat.* 2.15.3: *Ego eodem die post meridiem Vatinium eram defensurus. Ea res facilis est.*

35. Cic. *Ad Fam.* 5.9; 5.11. As Pocock correctly points out, Vatinius' words (*quo defendente uincere didici*) suggest that Vatinius' trial of 54 was the first to come to fruition; *Comm. Cic. Vat.* 33 n.9.

36. Münzer, *RE* 25.430-31 "Licinius" no. 113, expresses doubt.

37. 160, Stangl: *Iam de sodaliciis causam dixerat P. Vatinius eodem defendente M. Cicerone.*

38. Schol. Bob. 150, Stangl; see above.

39. Another source, hardly sufficient in itself to provoke trust, can here be cited in support. Hieronymus, *Adu. Rufin.* 3.39, affirms that Cicero's defense speech concerned itself with *sodalicii*. On the *lex Licinia de sodaliciis*, see Rotondi, *Leges Publicae* 407.

40. Quint. 6.1.13: *factum esse ambitum scitis omnes et hoc uos scire omnes sciunt.* The same is to be found in Seneca, *Epist.* 94.25; cf. also Charisius 296.21: *ad pro autem Licinius Caluus in P. Vatinius ambitus reum.* The fragments are conveniently collected in Malcovati, *ORF* 494-98.



41. Cic. *Pro Planc. passim*, especially 14.36: *in qua tu nomine legis Liciniae, quae est de sodalicis, omnis ambitus leges complexus es*. Cf. Cic. *Pro. Cael.* 7.16; J. Linderski, "Two Speeches of Q. Hortensius," *La Parola del Passato* 79 (1961) 304-11; *idem*, "Ciceros Rede *Pro Caelio* und die Ambitus-und Vereinsgesetzgebung der ausgehenden Republik," *Hermes* 89 (1961) 106-19; Gundel, *RE* (2) 15.508 "Vatinius" no. 3.

42. It might be objected that a prosecution of Vatinius under the *lex Licinia* for offenses committed before that law was passed is unlikely. Certainly retroactive pieces of legislation were not common and were frowned upon. That, however, is not an insuperable objection. These were troubled times and a precedent was near at hand. Cicero himself had been exiled in 58 through a law of Clodius passed more than four years after the alleged offense.

43. Quint. 9.2.25. The same in Isidor. *Etym.* 2.21.30; Malcovati, *ORF* 397.

44. It is uncertain to which of Calvus' speeches the remaining preserved fragments should be assigned. It seems likely, however, that Quint. 6.3.60 should be associated with Quint. 9.2.25, in which case the former will also have come out of the trial of 54. Catullus 53 does appear to refer to a criminal trial. Hence it too is probably a reflection of Calvus' performance in 54; cf. C. J. Fordyce, *Catullus, A Commentary* (Oxford 1961) 223-25. Tacitus, *Dial.* 34.7, affirms that it was the *secunda* of Calvus' *accusationes* against Vatinius which was most widely read and studied. That implies there were at least three speeches published and available in Tacitus' day. But it need not follow that these were three separate and independent formal prosecutions of Vatinius by Calvus. If the poet was not a prosecutor in 58, he might still have delivered a damaging speech against Vatinius in that year, or, much more likely, in 56 to undermine the latter's campaign for the praetorship. In March of 56, Calvus was already looked to as the prospective *accusator* of Vatinius; Cic. *Ad Q. Frat.* 2.4.1; see above. Clearly he was a known *inimicus* by that time and had probably already delivered a public denunciation of Vatinius.

45. Cic. *Ad Q. Frat.* 2.16.3: *Quo die haec scripsi, Drusus erat de praeuarcatione a tribunis aerariis absolutus in summa quattuor sententiis, cum senatores et equites damnassent. Ego eodem die post meridiem Vatinium eram defensurus.*

46. *Dial.* 21.2: *quotus enim quisque Calui in Asitium aut in Drusum legit?* Calvus and Cicero may have appeared against one another in both cases mentioned here by Tacitus. On "Asitius," see above.

47. Münzer, *RE* 25.881-84 "Livius" no. 19.

48. Cic. *Ad Att.* 2.7.3: *illa opima ad exigendas pecunias Druso, ut opinor, Pisaurensi an epuloni Vatinio reseruatur.*

49. Caes. *B.C.* 1.18.1; Orosius 6.15.4; cf. Caes. *B.C.* 3.7.1. The identification was made by Drumann-Groebe, *Gesch. Roms* VI 29; see also Münzer, *RE* 26.1657-58 "Lucretius" no. 12; Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero's Letters* II 202.

50. Cic. *Ad Att.* 4.15.9: *deinde me expedio ad Drusum, inde ad Scaurum. parantur orationibus indices gloriosi. fortasse accedent etiam consules designati.*

51. Collins, *CJ* 48 (1952) 15; Trencsenyi-Waldapfel, *Athenaeum* 52 (1964) 46. Neither of these scholars mentions the trial of Drusus, although that case would, on the surface at least, support their conclusions. Tenney Frank, "Cicero and the *Poetae Novi*," *AJP* 40 (1919) 404-11, who argues vigorously for friendship between Calvus and Cicero, similarly makes no mention of the trial of Drusus, an item which would be embarrassing for his argument.

52. Trencsenyi-Waldapfel (above, n.51) 46.
53. Messius, to be sure, was facing trial for the third time, as Seneca says: *hic* (Calvus) *tamen in epilogo quem pro Messio tunc tertio causam dicente habuit*. It is possible that Calvus' defense came on another occasion. But Messius resumed his *legatio* after the trial of 54 and Calvus did not live much longer; cf. Castorina, *Licinio Calvo* 33-37. The defense could have come earlier, of course, but in that event Messius' case in 54 was at least his fourth appearance as a defendant, not the most likely assumption. Be that as it may, for those who argue for Calvus' consistency, the association of these two men is no easier to explain if Calvus came to Messius' aid in, say, 56.
54. Dio 39.32.2; cf. Broughton, *MRR* II 216.
55. Münzer, *RE* 29.1243 "Messius" no. 2; Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero's Letters* II 211-12.
56. Cic. *Post red. in sen.* 8.21: *Multa de me C. Messius et amicitiae et rei publicae causa dixit; legem separatim initio de salute mea promulgavit*.
57. Fenestella, *Frag.* 21, Peter: *turbulentus adulescens et audax nec imparatus ad dicendum*.
58. Livy *Per.* 105; Dio 39.27.3.
59. For his attacks on Gabinius and Pompey in 59, see Cic. *Ad Q. Frat.* 1.2.15; for the enmity with Milo, also associated with Pompey, see Cic. *Ad Fam.* 1.5b.1; *Ad Q. Frat.* 2.4.5.
60. Cic. *Ad Q. Frat.* 2.1.2; 2.3.3.
61. Cic. *Ad Fam.* 1.2.4; 1.4.2; 1.5.2; *Ad Q. Frat.* 2.3.1; Dio 39.15.3-4.
62. Cic. *Ad Att.* 4.16.5: *is tamen et mecum et cum Milone in gratiam rediit* (summer of 54).
63. Cic. *Ad Q. Frat.* 2.3.3: *De me multa me inuito cum mea summa laude dixit*. On Cato generally, see Drumann-Groebe, *Gesch. Roms* V (1912) 215-17; Fr. Miltner *RE* 43.105-7 "Porcius" no. 6.
64. Cic. *Ad Att.* 4.16.5; on the *lex Fufia*, cf. W. F. McDonald, "Clodius and the *lex Aelia Fufia*," *JRS* 19 (1929) 179; G. V. Sumner "Lex Aelia, Lex Fufia," *AJP* 84 (1963) 338-39; A.E. Astin, "*Leges Aelia et Fufia*," *Latomus* 23 (1964) 421-45, esp. 444.
65. *Dial.* 34.7; also Quint. 12.6.1.
66. It is uncertain whether Calvus represented the defendant in the first trial or in the second or both.
67. Seneca *Controu.* 7.4.7; Malcovati, *ORF* 498-99.
68. A similar phrase appears in Cicero's *actio prima* against Verres: *ut perspicuum cuius esse posset hominem ab isto quaesitum esse, non qui reum suum adduceret, sed qui meum tempus obsideret*; *Verr.* 1.2.6. The antecedent of *suum* here is the prosecutor. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero's Letters* II 208, takes the statement of Seneca in a similar sense, and asserts that Calvus was the co-prosecutor with Asinius Pollio rather than counsel for Cato. Cf. also Münzer, *RE* 25.432 "Licinius" no. 113. But the remainder of the passage shows, as indicated in the text, that the phrase will not bear that meaning in this instance.
69. This is clear from Cic. *Ad Fam.* 8.8.3: *postulante rursus Appio cum L. Lollio transegit et se relaturum dixit. Sic nunc neque absolutus neque damnatus de repetundis saucius Pilio traditus. Nam de diuinatione Appius, cum calumniam iurasset, contendere ausus non est Pilioque cessit*. Apparently, then, the *calumniam iurare* followed the *postulatio* but preceded even the *diuinatio* in which the formal

*accusator* was chosen; cf. *Lex Repetundarum*, line 19: *sei deiurauerit calumniae causa non po(stulare)*; S. Riccobono, *Fontes iuris romani anteiustiniani* (Florence 1940-43) I 90; also *Digest* 39.2.7; 39.2.13. The phrase recurs in Asconius 64, Clark: *cum in Curionem calumniam iurauit*, in a case which was never completed. Livy's statement, 33.37.5, *nec satis habere bello uicisse Hannibalem, nisi uelut accusatores calumniam in eum iurarent ac nomen deferrent*, may suggest that the oath preceded the *nomini delatio*. It obviously came very early in the proceedings; cf. T. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht* (Leipzig 1899) 386; A. H. J. Greenidge, *The Legal Procedure of Cicero's Time* (Oxford 1901) 459.

70. On the one other occasion in which Seneca employs the construction it is used in precisely the way suggested in the text; *Controu.* 2.1.34: *itaque memini optimi illum dicere pro<sup>t</sup> hac rene adulteri rea in quam Syriacus Vallius, homo disertus, calumniam iurauerat*.

71. It should be noted also that Seneca's reference to *Pollium Asinio accusatori suo* is very awkward if Calvus were a co-prosecutor. There could, of course, be more than one spokesman for the prosecution, but one would then have expected something like *accusatori alteri*.

72. Cic. *Ad Att.* 4.16.5: *lege Iunia et Licinia scis absolutum; Fufia ego tibi nuntio absolutum iri, neque patronis suis tam libentibus quam accusatoribus*. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero's Letters* II 201-2, suggests that Cicero alludes here to Drusus Claudianus, who is mentioned two sentences later (*Drusus reus est factus a Lucretio*), and that Drusus' trial for *praeuaticatio* grew out of a collusive prosecution of Cato. But Cicero is here speaking of the prospective trial of Cato under the *lex Fufia*, not yet heard, whereas Drusus was already under indictment for *praeuaticatio*.

73. See Cic. *Pro Scaur. passim*, and, on the trial generally, cf. the account of Drumann-Groebe, *Gesch. Roms* VI 31-34.

74. Seneca, *Controu.* 7.4.7; 10.1.8; Schol. Lucan 7.726.

75. Cic. *Ad Fam.* 7.24.1; Porphyrio on Horace, *Sat.* 1.3.1. Asconius (93, Clark) mentions a verse directed against a certain Curius. But that this man was a Caesarian must remain conjectural; cf. Münzer, *RE* 25.432 "Licinius" no. 113.

76. Suet. *Iul.* 73; cf. Catullus 11.10: *Caesaris uisens monimenta magni*. The earlier rejection of Caesar's overtures is recorded in Catullus 93.

77. Suet. *Iul.* 73: *Gaio Caluo post famosa epigrammata de reconciliatione per amicos agenti ultro ac prior scripsit*.

78. As is inferred by Tenney Frank, *AJP* 40 (1919) 409-10, and Castorina, *Licinio Calvo* 49-50, 69, 75-77.

79. Horace, *Sat.* 1.10 and Porphyrio on *Sat.* 1.10; Pliny, *Epist.* 1.16.5; 4.27.4; Propertius 2.25.4; 2.34.87-90; Ovid, *Tristia* 2.427-482; *Amores* 3.9.62; Gellius 19.9.7.

80. Cic. *Ad Fam.* 7.24.1. It might be mentioned also that Asconius (93, Clark) quotes a line of Calvus with praise.

81. Advocates of this view have been many. Among the more recent are Collins, *CJ* 48 (1952) 39-41; J. Martin, "Cicero und die zeitgenössischen Dichter," *Atti Cong. Int. Stud. Cic.* II (1961) 189-90; D. E. W. Wormell, "Catullus 49," *Phoenix* 17 (1963) 59-60.

82. Catullus 49: *gratias tibi maximas Catullus | agit pessimus omnium poeta*. The nature of this *beneficium* must remain a matter for speculation.

83. Cf., e.g., R. Ellis, *A Commentary on Catullus* (Oxford 1876) 134; Fordyce, *Catullus*, 213-14.

84. *Dial.* 18.5; 25.4: *Nam quod inuicem se obtrectauerunt, et sunt aliqua epistulis eorum inserta ex quibus mutua malignitas detegitur, non est oratorum uitium, sed hominum.*

85. Cicero himself attests directly to the correspondence; *Ad Fam.* 15.21.4. It was still known to later grammarians: Priscian in H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini* (Leipzig 1857) II 490; Nonius 469, Mueller.

86. Cic. *Brutus* 279-80: *duorum adolescentium, qui si diutius uixissent magnam essent eloquentiae laudem consecuti. C. Curionem te, inquit Brutus, et C. Licinium Caluum arbitror dicere.*

87. Cic. *Brutus* 283: *Itaque eius oratio nimia religione attenuata doctis et attente audientibus erat illustris, multitudine autem et a foro, cui nata eloquentia est deuorabatur.* For the lengths to which Calvus would go just to keep his mind on his labors, cf. Pliny *NH* 34.166.

88. Quint. 10.1.115. Other later writers had much admiration for Calvus' orations; Val. Max. 9.12.7; Pliny *Epist.* 1.2.2; Quint. 10.2.35; 12.10.11; Apuleius *Apol.* 95.5. Seneca *Controu.* 7.4.7-8, actually indicates another line of thought on Calvus' oratory: Calvus was often carried away with his own enthusiasm; he was forceful, violent, and agitated, on the model of Demosthenes!

89. Some of the merits (but none of the defects) in this paper may be ascribed to generous suggestions by colleagues G. W. Bowersock and Mason Hammond.





# THE CONSULAR *FASTI* OF 23 B.C. AND THE CONSPIRACY OF VARRO MURENA

MICHAEL SWAN

FOR the year 23<sup>1</sup> the *Fasti Capitolini* give as *consules ordinarii* Augustus and A. Terentius Varro Murena:

[Imp.] Caesar Diui f. C. n.	A. T[erentius A. f. — n. Var]ro
Augustus XI abd(icauit).	Murena [-----] est.
In eius loc(um) factus est	In e(ius) l(ocum) f(actus) e(st)
[L. Sestius P. f. L. n.]	[Cn. Calpurn]ius Cn. f.
Quirin(alis) [Albin(ianus)]	Cn. n. Pis[o]

By contrast, the municipal and collegial *fasti* give Augustus and Cn. Calpurnius Piso as *ordinarii* and L. Sestius as *suffectus*; they do not list A. Terentius Varro Murena.<sup>2</sup>

Generally, the omission of A. Murena's name from the municipal and collegial *fasti* has been taken to signify that *damnatio memoriae* was enacted against him and that he was therefore the same Murena who conspired with Fannius Caepio against Augustus.<sup>3</sup> This identification has appeared to most to necessitate redating to 23 Murena's conspiracy, which Dio assigns to 22.<sup>4</sup> But why, if A. Terentius Varro Murena was disgraced, was his name not omitted from the *Fasti Capitolini* as it was from the municipal and collegial *fasti*? The weakness of the usual interpretation of the *fasti* is its failure to answer this question satisfactorily. In the present article I wish to show, by a broad study of consular lists, that the *Fasti Capitolini* and the municipal and collegial *fasti* diverged in the same way in the case of several consuls besides A. Terentius Varro Murena; the precise significance of this divergence can be determined and indicates that the consul of 23 is not to be identified with Murena the conspirator and that Dio's date for the conspiracy should be retained.

An examination of the entries in the *fasti* for consuls who failed to complete their term of office (down to A.D. 13) shows that there are two distinct ways in which the names are recorded. According to the one, the name of a consul is entered both in the *Fasti Capitolini* and in the municipal and collegial *fasti* (e.g., L. Gellius Poplicola and M. Cocceius

Nerva in 36); according to the other, the name of a consul given in the *Fasti Capitolini* is omitted in the municipal and collegial *fasti* (e.g., A. Terentius Varro Murena in 23).

It can be shown readily that in the first case (when the entries of the *Fasti Capitolini* coincide with those of the municipal and collegial *fasti*) the men listed were designated consul and entered office but for one reason or another did not finish their term, whether they died of natural causes (e.g., Albinus, 154), were slain (e.g., Octavius, 87), abdicated because of a *uitium* (e.g., Scipio Nasica and Figulus, 162), or were superseded by *suffecti* (e.g., Lamia, A.D. 3) during their magistracy. A consul was so recorded even if he had served only a day (e.g., Octavian, 33).<sup>5</sup>

But what is signified when the name of a consul is given in the *Fasti Capitolini* but omitted in the municipal and collegial *fasti*, as in the case of A. Terentius Varro Murena? Although this practice can be observed in the *fasti* of only one year besides 23, viz. 108 (for the texts see p. 239), one may recover further instances of it by studying consular lists other than those on stone — the Chronographer of 354, the *Fasti Hydatiani*, the *Chronicon Paschale*, Dio, and Cassiodorus.<sup>6</sup> Table I makes it clear immediately that the same discrepancy that is observed in 108 and 23 between the *Fasti Capitolini* and the municipal and collegial *fasti* existed in several other years. For it indicates an opposition not merely of the *Fasti Capitolini* to the municipal and collegial *fasti* but rather of the *Fasti Capitolini* and/or the Chronographer<sup>7</sup> to any or all of the lists on the right side of the table. Thus it is possible to increase the number of cases analogous to that of A. Terentius Varro Murena in 23 from one (108) to six. An examination of these will show that persons recorded by the group consisting of the *Fasti Capitolini* and the Chronographer of 354 but omitted by the group consisting of the remaining lists (right side of the table) were consuls designate who never entered their magistracy;<sup>8</sup> that is, the *Fasti Capitolini* and the Chronographer recorded consuls designate, even when they did not take office; the municipal and collegial *fasti*, the *Fasti Hydatiani*, the *Chronicon Paschale*, Cassiodorus, and Dio recorded only consuls who did in fact take office.

1. 451: *Ap. Claudius Crassus Inrigillensis Sabinus II, T. Genucius Augurinus*. The *Fasti Capitolini* read:

Ap. Claudius Ap. f. M. n.	T. Genu[cius L. f. L. n.]
Crass(us) Inr[i]gil-	Au[gu]rinus
l(ensis) Sabin(us) II	
abdicarunt ut de[ce]mui ri consular[i imperio fier]ent	

TABLE I. CONSULES DESIGNATI WHO DID NOT ENTER OFFICE

Year	Consul	<i>Fasti</i> <i>Cap.</i>	Chron. 354	Municipal and collegial <i>fasti</i>	<i>Fasti</i> <i>Hydat.</i>	Chron. <i>Pasch.</i>	Dio <i>index</i>	Cassiodorus
451	Ap. Claudius Crassus Inrigillensis Sabinus II	yes <sup>a</sup>	yes	—	no	no	—	no <sup>b</sup>
451	T. Genucius Augurinus	yes	yes	—	no	no	—	no <sup>b</sup>
393	L. Valerius Potitus	yes	yes	—	no	no	—	no <sup>c</sup>
393	— Cornelius Maluginensis	yes	yes	—	no	no	—	no <sup>c</sup>
220	M. Valerius Laevinus	—	yes	—	no	no	—	no
220	Q. Mucius Scaevola	—	yes	—	no	no	—	no
215	L. Postumius Albinus III	yes	yes	—	no	no	—	no <sup>d</sup>
108	Q. Hortensius	yes	yes	no	no	no	—	no
65	P. Cornelius Sulla	—	yes	—	no	no	no	no
65	P. Autronius Paetus	—	yes	—	no	no	no	no
23	A. Terentius Varro Murena	yes	no <sup>e</sup>	no	no	no	no	no

<sup>a</sup> "Yes" indicates that the consul is named; "no" that he is not.

<sup>b</sup> Diodorus does not name Sabinus and Augurinus except as *decemviri* (12.23.1). Livy mentions them as consuls designate (3.33.4).

<sup>c</sup> Potitus and Maluginensis are not mentioned by either Diodorus (14.99.1; 15.8.1) or Livy (5.29.2).

<sup>d</sup> Livy records Albinus' election and notes that he died before he could be installed in office (23.24.3, 6).

<sup>e</sup> For the error of the Chronographer here see n.5 (last paragraph). In view of the survival of the *Fasti Capitolini* for this year, the inconsistency in his list is of little significance.

Livy makes it clear that Claudius and Genucius, although designated for 451, did not enter office and were made *decemuiri* by way of compensation:

Decemuiri creati Ap. Claudius, T. Genucius, P. Sestius, L. Veturius, C. Iulius, A. Manlius, P. Sulpicius, P. Curiatius, T. Romilius, Sp. Postumius. Claudio et Genucio, quia designati consules in eum annum fuerant, pro honore honos redditus, et Sestio, alteri consulum prioris anni, quod eam rem collega inuito ad patres rettulerat.<sup>9</sup>

2. 393: *L. Valerius Potitus*. – *Cornelius Maluginensis*. The *Fasti Capitolini* as restored by Degraffi read:

[L. Valerius L. f. P. n. Potitus]	[– Cornel]ius [– f. – n. Maluginensis]
[uitio facti abdicaru]nt.	In e[or(um) loc(um) facti sunt]
[L. Lucretius – f. – n. Tricipitinus Flauus]	[Ser. Sulp]icius Q. f. Se[r. n. Camerinus]

The completion “[uitio facti abdicaru]nt” is sound. It suits the space well.<sup>10</sup> In the extant *Fasti Capitolini*, *abdicarunt* is the only verb ending *-nt* employed to describe the termination of consulships.<sup>11</sup> The assumption that Potitus and Maluginensis abdicated because of a religious flaw in their election will explain plausibly why their consulships ended simultaneously.<sup>12</sup> Although they could not be forced to resign, consuls *uitio facti* were expected to do so immediately.<sup>13</sup> When C. Flaminius, *cos.* 223, refused to comply, the matter attracted marked attention.<sup>14</sup> It is reasonable to think that consuls of so early a date as 393 satisfied the law by abdicating at once, that is, before taking office, especially as the silence of the sources suggests that they committed no serious misdemeanor. Also, Diodorus (14.99.1) and Livy (5.29.2–3) assume that their successors, L. Lucretius Tricipitinus Flauus and Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus, took office at the very beginning of the year. It should be observed how the entries for Potitus and Maluginensis in the consular lists (see the table on p. 237) differ from those for the consuls of 162, who, although *uitio creati*, did in fact enter office.<sup>15</sup> The latter are named not only in the *Fasti Capitolini* and the Chronographer of 354 but also in the *Fasti Antiates maiores*, the *Fasti Hydatiani*, the *Chronicon Paschale*, and Cassiodorus.

3. 220: *M. Valerius Laeuinus*, *Q. Mucius Scaeuola*. The *Fasti Capitolini* are not preserved. But there is reason to think that Degraffi's restoration of them (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII, 1, p. 608), which follows, is sound

and that Laevinus and Scaevola gave up their magistracies before being installed:

[M. Valerius P. f. P. n. Laevinus]	[Q. Mucius P. f. - n. Scaevola]
[uitio facti abdicarunt uel non inierunt]	
suf. [L. Veturius L. f. Post. n. Philo]	[C. Lutatius C. f. C. n. Catulus]

The consulships of Laevinus and Scaevola are recorded by the Chronographer of 354; those of Philo and Catulus, who are not mentioned by the Chronographer, are recorded in the *Fasti Hydatiani*, the *Chronicon Paschale*, and Cassiodorus. These entries follow the same pattern as those for 393, where the consuls named by the Chronographer were shown to have abdicated before installation (see above), and for 65, where the consuls named by the Chronographer (viz. Sulla and Paetus) but omitted by the *Fasti Hydatiani*, the *Chronicon Paschale*, Dio, and Cassiodorus were condemned for bribery while still *designati* (see below). Also, it appears from Zonaras 8.20 that it was Philo and Catulus — rather than Laevinus and Scaevola — who *acted* as consuls in 220.<sup>16</sup>

4. 215: *L. Postumius Albinus III*. The *Fasti Capitolini* read:

Ti. Sempronius Ti. f. Ti. n. Gracch(us)	L. Postumius A. f. A. n. Albinus III [Hi]c in praetura in Gall(ia) occis(us) est quod antequam ciretur [-----]s. In eius l(ocum) f(actus) [e(st)] [M. Claudius M. f. M. n. Marcellus II] [uitio factus abd(ica)uit]. In e(ius) l(ocum) f(actus)] est Q. Fabius Q. f. Q. n. Maxim(us) Verruc(ossus) III
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This document is itself proof that Albinus did not take office as consul.

5. 108: *Q. Hortensius*. The *Fasti Capitolini* as restored by Degraasi read:

[Ser. Sulpicius Ser. f. Ser. n. Galba]	[Q.? Hortensius - f. - n. in mag(istratu) da]mn(atus) est. In e(ius) l(ocum) f(actus) e(st) [M. Aurelius - f. - n.] Scaurus]
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The *Fasti Antiates maiores* read:

[S]er. Sulpici(us) Galba, M. Aureli(us) Scaur(us)

Degrassi's completion of the *Fasti Capitolini* — "[in mag. da]mn. est" — will not do. Hortensius cannot have been prosecuted (hence not condemned) during his magistracy proper, for the law forbade it.<sup>17</sup> Nor is it likely that, after taking office, he was deposed or forced to abdicate, then condemned. Had this happened, his name should have been in all the consular lists (see n.5 and text), whereas it was entered in only the *Fasti Capitolini* and the Chronographer of 354 and was omitted from the *Fasti Antiates maiores*, the *Fasti Hydatiani*, the *Chronicon Paschale*, and Cassiodorus. It should be noted that the entries for Hortensius' consulship are not analogous to those for consuls who abdicated or were deposed during their magistracy.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, they are analogous to the entries for the consuls designate for 65, who were condemned for bribery before entering office (see below). Hortensius therefore appears to have been condemned while still consul designate and never to have been installed in his magistracy. A plausible completion of the *Fasti Capitolini* would be that suggested by Mrs. Atkinson: "[designatus da]mn. est."<sup>19</sup>

6. 65: P. Cornelius Sulla, P. Autronius Paetus. The *Fasti Capitolini* are not preserved. Degrassi's restoration of them is sound:

[P. Cornelius P. ? f. L. n. Sulla] [ambitus damnati non inierunt]	[P. Autronius L. f. — n. Paetus]
suf. [L. Aurelius M. f. — n. Cotta]	[L. Manlius L. f. — n. Torquatus]

The consulships of Sulla and Paetus are recorded by the Chronographer of 354; those of Cotta and Torquatus, who are not mentioned by the Chronographer, are recorded in the *Fasti Hydatiani*, the *Chronicon Paschale*, Dio, and Cassiodorus. There is no doubt that Sulla and Paetus had to give up their consulships before taking office. "L. Tullo et M'. Lepido consulibus [66 B.C.] P. Autronius et P. Sulla designati consules legibus ambitus interrogati poenas dederant" (Sall. *Cat.* 18.2).<sup>20</sup>

Thus, although it is not known precisely how or when the consulship of A. Terentius Varro Murena ended, the fact that it is recorded in the consular lists in the same way as the ten consulships just examined shows that he, like the others, was designated but never installed and that he did not hold office for a day in 23.<sup>21</sup> Nothing in the *fasti* indicates

that he conspired in this year.<sup>22</sup> One might propose that he conspired and was condemned in 24 while consul designate — a possibility with entries of this kind (cf. 108 and 65). But this date is ruled out by the testimony of Dio, Velleius, and Suetonius (see below).

If there is no evidence that A. Terentius Varro Murena conspired, there is no reason to identify him with Murena the conspirator. The combined evidence of literary sources suggests that the latter was rather a L. (Terentius) Varro Murena.<sup>23</sup> However, Dio clearly believes that the plot resulted from an explosion of indignation at Augustus' intervention in the trial of M. Primus; he assumes that "Licinius Murena," the advocate of Primus, was identical with the Murena who subsequently was alleged to have conspired (54.3.2-4). If his testimony is to be accommodated, the name will have to be L. (Terentius) Varro Licinius Murena. It may be prudent not to make this identification, on the ground that Dio may have confused two persons with the same *cognomen* (Murena).<sup>24</sup> But in view of the known connection between the Terentii Varrones and the Licinii Murenæ, it is conceivable that the same man could be called both Licinius Murena and (Terentius) Varro Murena.<sup>25</sup>

Once it is established that the conspirator was not A. Terentius Varro Murena, the consul designate for 23, one may follow Dio confidently and assign the plot to 22,<sup>26</sup> apparently before September 1.<sup>27</sup> The testimony of Suetonius and Velleius, although not precise enough to confirm this date, is nevertheless consistent with it. In *Tib.* 8 Suetonius lists, apparently in chronological order, the important cases which Tiberius pleaded in the courts and senate early in his career: (1) on behalf of Archelaus, (2) on behalf of the people of Tralles, (3) on behalf of the Thessalians, (4) on behalf of the people of Laodicea, Thyatira, and Chios, and (5) against Fannius Caepio, the fellow conspirator of Murena. He adds that Tiberius "*inter hæc duplicem curam administravit, annonæ quæ artior inciderat, et repurgandorum tota Italia ergastulorum.*" This could mean that the prosecution of Fannius Caepio followed the "duplex cura," which we know was undertaken during Tiberius' quaestorship in 23.<sup>28</sup> Velleius introduces his account of the death of Augustus' nephew Marcellus by noting the intervals between it and other events, including the conspiracy of Varro Murena (2.93.1):

Ante triennium fere, quam Egnatianum scelus erumperet, circa Murenæ Caepionisque coniurationis tempus, abhinc annos L, M. Marcellus, sororis Augusti Octaviae filius, quem homines ita, si quid accidisset Caesar, successorem potentiae eius arbitrabantur futurum, ut tamen id

per M. Agrippam securo ei posse contingere non existimarent, magnificentissimo munere aedilitatis edito decessit admodum iuvenis . . .

His purpose here is clearly not chronological but literary — to make a transition from the preceding topic, the conspiracies of Murena and Egnatius Rufus (2.91–92), to the next, the death of Marcellus (2.93).<sup>29</sup> In a passage of this nature precision cannot be expected — or observed.<sup>30</sup> Thus, Velleius' calculation that Marcellus died "circa Murenæ Caepionisque coniurationis tempus" must be taken as approximate. It cannot exclude a date of 22 for the conspiracy, particularly since Marcellus seems to have died towards the end of 23. Plin. *NH* 19.24 gives a *terminus post quem* of August 1 for his death. Other evidence suggests that it occurred much later. The *Feriae Latinae* appear to have been held twice in 23, once between June 14 and July 1 and again between October 16 and November 1.<sup>31</sup> From the fact that Dio recounts rumors of Livia's complicity in Marcellus' death<sup>32</sup> after mentioning the later *Feriae* (53.33.3–4),<sup>33</sup> one might infer that Marcellus did not die before mid-October. Also, Dio notes that a flood which inundated the city for three days was regarded as having portended Marcellus' death (53.33.5). Such a flood is most likely to have occurred in the period from October to December, when rainfall is heaviest.<sup>34</sup> Dio's notice of this event is his last for the year 23. In short, the death of Marcellus, occurring late in 23 and viewed from a distance of fifty years, could well have appeared to Velleius near enough to a plot in the first half of 22 to be dated "about the time of the conspiracy of Murena and Caepio."

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## NOTES

This article is based on a section of my doctoral dissertation. I am indebted to Professor G. W. Bowersock and especially to my teacher Professor Herbert Bloch for valuable advice.

1. Dates are B.C. unless marked otherwise.

2. The phrase "municipal and collegial *fasti*" will be used to designate consular lists on stone other than the *Fasti Capitolini*. For 23 these are the *Fasti Gabini*, *Fasti Colotiani*, *Fasti Caelimontani*, and *Fasti magistrorum uici*. The *Fasti feriarum Latinarum* are omitted because, unlike the other *fasti*, they record the consuls in office during the *feriae Latinae* rather than at the beginning of the official year, a point of time which is central in the following discussion.

3. The fullest account of the conspiracy is in Dio 54.3.4–8. Cf. Vell. Pat. 2.91.2; 93.1; Suet. *Aug.* 19.1; 56.4; 66.3; *Tib.* 8; Strabo 14.5.4; Sen. *Breu. Vit.* 4.5; *Clem.* 1.9.6; Macrobian *Sat.* 1.11.21; Tac. *Ann.* 1.10.4.

4. For a survey of views on the date of the conspiracy see the important article of Mrs. K. M. T. Atkinson, "Constitutional and Legal Aspects of the Trials of Marcus Primus and Varro Murena," *Historia* 9 (1960) 44off. To her list may be added P. Sattler, *Augustus und der Senat* (Göttingen 1960) 62-63, who assumes the plot belongs in 23. Mrs. Atkinson herself rejects the traditional date on prosopographic and legal grounds and argues for 22, following Dio. Her findings have been accepted by J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Gnomon* 33 (1961) 395, and P. A. Brunt, *JRS* 51 (1961) 234f. On the other hand, W. Schmitt-henner, "Augustus' spanischer Feldzug und der Kampf um den Prinzipat," *Historia* 11 (1962) 78 n. 87, prefers 23; F. Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio* (Oxford 1964) 89-90, although apparently in agreement with much that Mrs. Atkinson says, still believes "the date must be left open"; the case for 23 has recently been presented in detail by D. Stockton, "Primus and Murena," *Historia* 14 (1965) 18-40.

5. A list of such consulships follows: 163, M'. Iuventius Thalna; 162, P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica and C. Marcus Figulus; 154, L. Postumius Albinus; 111, P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica; 107, L. Cassius Longinus; 90, P. Rutilius Lupus; 89, L. Porcius Cato; 88, Q. Pompeius Rufus; 87, Cn. Octavius and L. Cornelius Cinna; 86, C. Marius; 84, L. Cornelius Cinna; 44, C. Iulius Caesar; 43, C. Vibius Pansa Caetronianus and A. Hirtius (Hirtius and Pansa are not named in the *Fasti magistrorum uici*, which have as their starting point the first consulship of Octavian, who was appointed on their death); 37, L. Caninius Gallus; 36, M. Cocceius Nerva; 23, Imp. Caesar Augustus; 12, M. Valerius Messalla Appianus and P. Sulpicius Quirinius. One could add several consulships of A.D. 1-13, by which time the appointment of *suffecti* at midyear was customary. The consulship of L. Cornelius Lentulus (130) probably belongs here (so Broughton in *MRR* I 502). His name was without doubt recorded in the *Fasti Antiates maiores* (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII, 1, pp. 126, 162-63) and appears in the *Fasti Hydatiani* and the *Chronicon Paschale*, all of which list only consuls who actually entered office (see p. 236). (I do not know why Lentulus is omitted by Cassiodorus.) Degrassi's suggestion that he could have been condemned during his magistracy (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII, 1, pp. 126, 615) is without foundation. Cf. Atkinson (above, n.4) 462 n. 108.

Only one entry diverges from the pattern described above. Under 45 the *Fasti Ostienses* omit Julius Caesar's sole consulship and give the *suffecti* Q. Fabius and [C. Trebonius] as *ordinarii*. An engraver's error is the most probable explanation. The entry is contradicted by the *Fasti Amerini* and *Fasti Colotiani*, as well as by other evidence (for this see *Inscr. Ital.* XIII, 1, p. 501).

It should be noted that the *Fasti Venusini* of 34 (for this year the *Fasti Capitolini* have not survived) contain a similar anomaly: they do not record the consulship of M. Antonius, who we know held office, though for only a day. Dio 49.39.1 shows that this omission could be due to confusion arising from his brief tenure of office: Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς αὐθημερόν ἐξέστη, Λούκιον Σεμπρόνιον Ἀτρατῖνον ἀντικαταστήσας· ὅθεν εἰσὶν οἱ τοῦτον ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνον ἐν τῇ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀπαριθμῆσαι ὀνομάζουσι. This may not be the full answer, since in the next year Octavian abdicated his consulship the same day he entered it and yet was listed in the *Fasti Venusini* (cf. App. III. 28: νομηνία δ' ἔτους ἀρξάμενος ὑπατεύειν, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῆς ἡμέρας παραδούς Αὐτρωνίῳ Παύτῳ). It is conceivable that a purely local *damnatio memoriae* was imposed on Antonius at Venusia. The obliteration of his memory was decreed



in 30 (Dio 51.19.3; Plut. *Cic.* 49.4) but was later rescinded, possibly on Octavian's return to Italy in 29 (A. Degrassi, *Fasti Capitolini* [Turin 1954] 11-16; G. Perl, Review of *Die Datierung der Kapitolinischen Fasten*, by R. Stiehl, *DLZ* 80 [1959] 1082-85). Those in charge of engraving the *Fasti Venusini*, probably after 16 (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII, 1, p. 250), may have omitted Antonius' name through ignorance or forgetfulness of the measure revoking the *damnatio memoriae* or through some inscrutable local motive. That this omission should not be viewed as a major inconsistency is clear from the inclusion of Antonius' name in the *Fasti magistrorum uici*, which, as an urban monument that honored Augustus especially, are likely to have followed official practice in recording Antonius' consulship.

The Chronographer of 354 also omits Antonius' consulship of 34, inadvertently naming a *consul suffectus* in his stead. Errors of the same type occur in 256, 176, 68, 23, and probably 437 (see *Inscr. Ital.* XIII, 1, pp. 346, 538).

6. These lists are given in *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> pp. 98-167 and *Inscr. Ital.* XIII, 1, pp. 348-533.

7. On the close relationship between the Chronographer and the *Fasti Capitolini* see *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> p. 81; *RE* 3 (1899), Chronograph vom J. 354, 2479; *Inscr. Ital.* XIII, 1, p. 346.

8. The following persons, designated as consul some years in advance but displaced in times of civil war before the year of their magistracy, are not mentioned in any consular lists and can be disregarded in this discussion: D. Iunius Brutus Albinus, designated for 42; Q. Salvidienus Rufus, designated for 39; Sex. Pompeius Magnus, designated for 33; M. Antonius, designated for 31 (Dio 48.35.1; 50.10.1; cf. 50.4.3). Since none is recorded by the Chronographer of 354, it is not likely that their names appeared in the *Fasti Capitolini* either (the latter are not extant for these years). For it can be seen from the table on p. 237 that with respect to *designati* the testimony of the *Fasti Capitolini* normally coincides with that of the Chronographer. Suppose, however, that their names did appear on the *Fasti Capitolini*, thus creating the same pattern of entries that existed in 23 for the consulship of A. Terentius Varro Murena, i.e., the registration of their names in the *Fasti Capitolini*, their omission from the municipal and collegial *fasti*. This could be taken to indicate that A. Murena was disgraced just as were, say, Q. Salvidienus Rufus and M. Antonius. But then Murena's offence would presumably have to precede 23, the year of his consulship, just as the offence of Salvidienus Rufus preceded 39, or that of Antonius 31. The literary sources for the conspiracy of Murena exclude such a possibility (see p. 241).

9. Livy 3.33.3-4. Cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 10.56.2 and Cic. *Rep.* 2.36.61. The Chronographer's "consuls" for the following year (450) are the result of his assumption that in each of two columns of *decemviri* in his source the person listed first was a consul.

10. Mommsen's completion "[non inieru]nt" (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> p. 31) is weaker in this respect (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII, 1, p. 100).

11. See the years 451 and 162; cf. 368 and 231.

12. Cf. *Inscr. Ital.* XIII, 1, p. 119, under 210. A completion employing the phrases "[mortui su]nt" or "[occisi su]nt" is less probable. It was apparently the practice of the *Fasti Capitolini*, when both consuls died, to give a notice in the singular for each. This was the case with Hirtius and Pansa under 43 (note



the spacing of the entries), despite the fact that their deaths, being almost simultaneous, could well have been described together by a plural verb.

13. Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* (Leipzig 1887-88) III 364-65.

14. Livy 21.63; Plut. *Marc.* 4.1-3. Cf. *Inscr. Ital.* XIII, 1, p. 118.

15. Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.4.10-11.

16. This is perhaps confirmed by the entries in the *Fasti Hydatiani*, the *Chronicon Paschale*, and Cassiodorus.

17. *Dig.* 2.4.2: "In ius uocari non oportet neque consulem neque praefectum neque praetorem neque proconsulem neque ceteros magistratus, qui imperium habent"; *Dig.* 47.10.32: "Sed uerius est, si is magistratus est, qui sine fraude in ius uocari non potest, expectandum esse, quoad magistratu abeat." On this question see Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht* (Leipzig 1899) 352, and particularly Atkinson (above, n.4) 462 n.108.

18. Compare, for example, L. Cornelius Cinna, *cos. ord.* 87, who was deposed from his magistracy after being driven from Rome. His name appears in the *Fasti Capitolini*, the Chronographer of 354, the *Fasti Antiates maiores*, the *Fasti Hydatiani*, the *Chronicon Paschale*, and Cassiodorus.

19. An inscription of the *magistri Campani*, apparently from 108 (published by A. de Franciscis, *Epigraphica* 12 [1950] 126-30), is dated by the consulship of Ser. Sulpicius Galba alone. It is best taken as showing that, as a result of the condemnation of Hortensius, Galba entered office alone and only then conducted the *comitia* at which M. Aurelius Scaurus was appointed. Compare 215, when Ti. Sempronius Gracchus entered office alone — L. Postumius Albinus, the other *designatus*, had been killed (Livy 23.24.6; see p. 239) — and considerably later held the election for a colleague (Livy 23.31.7-9, 12-14). The registration of Scaurus as *ordinarius* for 108 in the *Fasti Antiates maiores*, the *Fasti Hydatiani*, the *Chronicon Paschale*, and Cassiodorus, even though he did not take office at the beginning of the year, is normal. Again compare 215 (Q. Fabius Maximus); also 19, where Q. Lucretius, who was not appointed before the summer (*testimonia* in *Inscr. Ital.* XIII, 1, p. 517), is listed as *ordinarius* in the *Fasti Colotiani*, *Fasti magistrorum uici*, *Fasti Biondiani*, *Fasti Hydatiani*, the *Chronicon Paschale*, Dio, and Cassiodorus.

20. Also Suet. *Iul.* 9.1: "...ante paucos dies quam aedilitatem iniret, [Caesar] uenit in suspicionem conspirasse cum Marco Crasso consulari, item Publio Sulla et L. Autronio post designationem consulatus ambitus condemnatis, ut principio anni senatum adorirentur, et trucidatis quos placitum esset, dictaturam Crassus inuaderet, ipse ab eo magister equitum diceretur constitutaeque ad arbitrium re publica Sullae et Autronio consulatus restitueretur." Cf. Atkinson (above, n.4) 462 n.108.

21. The *Fasti magistrorum uici*, which omit the name of A. Terentius Varro Murena in 23, list M. Antonius and Octavian as consuls in 34 and 33 respectively, even though they abdicated January 1 (see n.5).

22. Why did he fail to enter office? Death (cf. 215, Albinus), probably from natural causes, or condemnation for a crime (cf. 65, Sulla and Paetus) are possible explanations. Still, it is doubtful how the entry for his consulship in the *Fasti Capitolini* should be completed.

23. His name is variously reported. L. Murena (Vell. Pat. 2.91.2) = Varro Murena (Suet. *Aug.* 19.1; *Tib.* 8) = Murena (Strabo 14.5.4; Dio 54.3.4). Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.10.4: "Varrones." That his *gentilicium* was Terentius is clear from

the name of his sister — Terentia, the wife of Maecenas (see particularly Suet. *Aug.* 66.3; Dio 54.3.5).

24. Atkinson (above, n.4) 459–61, 473; Millar (above, n.4) 89–90.

25. See the helpful discussion in Stockton (above, n.4) 21–22, 39–40; cf. Atkinson (above, n.4) 459–61, 469–73.

26. Some who question Dio's date (Millar [above, n.4] 88–90; Stockton [above, n.4] 27, 34–35) have looked in his account for signs of confused chronology. They have noted in particular that his report of the trial of Primus and the conspiracy of Murena and Fannius Caepio does not appear to follow logically from the statement with which he introduces it (54.3.1): *καὶ ἐν μὲν τούτοις τό τε τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ σχῆμα καὶ ὄνομα ἐπεδείκνυτο, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐμετρίαζεν, ὥστε καὶ φίλοις τισὶν εὐθθυνομένοις παραγίγνεσθαι*. The relevance of the *ὥστε* clause is admittedly unclear, since no example of Augustus' helping a friend is given. But otherwise the author's plan is evident enough — to give instances of moderation (*ἐμετρίαζεν*) on Augustus' part in contrast with more arbitrary conduct just described. Specific acts are cited: first, his restrained reply to Primus' advocate, Licinius Murena, who challenged his right to testify *ἀντεπάγγελτος* (54.3.3, *τοσοῦτον μόνον ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι τὸ δημόσιον*); and second, his tolerance of the insubordinate behavior of the father of Fannius Caepio (54.3.6, *καὶ ὅτι γε ταῦτ' οὐχ ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἀλλ' ὥς καὶ συμφέροντα τῷ δημοσίῳ διέταξεν ἰσχυρῶς διέδειξε*). In the first instance Augustus received the approbation of men of good sense (54.3.3); in the second he came near dispelling all the animosity of his critics (53.3.8). Since Dio recounts the above incidents merely as examples, it is conceivable that he has introduced them from a year other than 22 (23 is the only other possibility, according to Vell. Pat. 2.93.1). However, I think it more plausible that he has superimposed the theme of moderation on events proper to 22 and that he has not departed here from the annalistic framework which he appears to use for the rest of his narrative of this year. He begins like an annalist: *τῷ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένῳ ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ Μάρκος τε Μάρκελλος καὶ Λούκιος Ἀρρουντίος ὑπάτευσαν* (54.1.1). He is careful to inform the reader of chronological relationships: *τότε δ' οὖν* (54.4.1); *ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ 'Ρώμῃ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους χρόνους* (54.5.1), *ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον* (54.5.4), *ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο* (54.6.1), *καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἔτ' ὄντος* (54.6.1). Several events related by him can be dated positively to 22 B.C.: (1) 54.1.1–5: flood, epidemic, and famine, giving rise to popular demands that Augustus assume the dictatorship and supervision of the grain supply; his refusal of the former and acceptance of the latter (cf. *Mon. Anc.* 5; Dio 53.33.4); (2) 54.2.1–3: the censorship of Paullus Aemilius Lepidus and L. Munatius Plancus (cf. *Inscr. Ital.* XIII, 1, pp. 514–15; Vell. Pat. 2.95.3); (3) 54.6.1–2: Augustus' visit to Sicily (cf. 54.6.3; 7.1); rioting in Rome over the consular elections for 21. Of the other events recounted by Dio under 22 I am not aware that any (except the trial of Primus and the conspiracy of Murena) is widely held to belong in another year.

27. In his account of urban events for 22 he puts the conspiracy before the dedication of the temple of Jupiter Tonans, which took place on September 1 (Dio 54.4.2; *CIL* I<sup>3</sup> pp. 214, 244, 248). Cf. Brunt (above, n.4) 235.

28. Vell. Pat. 2.94.3: "quaestor undeicesimum annum agens capessere coepit rem publicam maximamque difficultatem annonae ac rei frumentariae inopiam ita Ostiae atque in urbe mandatu uitrici moderatus est..." Tiberius was born November 16, 42 (Suet. *Tib.* 5). Cf. Brunt (above, n.4) 235.

29. Note that Velleius mentions here only the events from which or to which he is passing.

30. Velleius is content to describe as "about three years" the interval between Marcellus' death in 23 and the "crime" of Egnatius Rufus in 19 (his plot was initiated during the consulship of C. Sentius Saturninus [Vell. Pat. 2.91.3-92.4]).

31. *Inscr. Ital.* XIII, 1, pp. 150-51, 157.

32. Dio gives his main report of the death of Marcellus in connection with Augustus' illness earlier in the same year (53.30.4-6). He is aware that in doing so he is departing from chronological order and he informs the reader of this (53.31.1).

33. There are two reasons for believing that Dio is speaking here of the later *Feriae*. First, they are recorded near the end of his account of the year 23 (53.33.3). Second, he reports earlier in this year Augustus' departure from Rome for the Alban mount to resign the consulship (53.32.3); it is clear that this event occurred in connection with the first celebration of the *Feriae* (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII, 1, pp. 150-51, 157); thus both celebrations appear to have been mentioned by Dio under 23 (although the first is not named expressly), and the second notice (53.33.3) should be referred to the second celebration.

34. W. G. Kendrew, *The Climates of the Continents*<sup>4</sup> (Oxford 1953) 388, gives the following means for precipitation in Rome in the modern period (inches): Jan., 3.3; Feb., 2.6; Mar., 2.9; Apr., 2.6; May, 2.2; June, 1.5; July, 0.7; Aug., 1.0; Sept., 2.5; Oct., 5.0; Nov., 4.5; Dec., 3.9.



## EUCLIDES GRAECO-LATINUS

A Hitherto Unknown Medieval Latin Translation  
of the *Elements* Made Directly from the Greek

JOHN E. MURDOCH

THOUGH we have long been aware of medieval Latin translations of three minor Euclidean works — the *Data*, *Optica*, and *Catoptrica*<sup>1</sup> — made directly from the Greek originals, the existence of a Greek-Latin version of Euclid's major effort has remained problematic. To be sure, the labyrinthine textual lineage of the fragmentary so-called Boethian renditions of the *Elements* has frequently led to speculation regarding the influence which the Greek tradition may have exerted through these incomplete epitomes upon the more predominant, more important Arabic-Latin branch of the textual history of the *Elements*.<sup>2</sup> Yet no solid evidence of complete translation into Latin based solely — or even largely — upon the Greek text has appeared. In the past fifty years a greater share of attention has been directed to the Arabic side of the transmission of what was to become the basic mathematical "text-book" of the Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup> Fundamental work that it was, there has arisen an historically unfounded suspicion that a Latin version of the *Elements* must, or at least should, have been part of the flurry of translations from the Greek that populated the Twelfth-Century Renaissance. It can now be said that it was such a part. Two apparently heretofore unnoticed manuscripts contain (though one of them in an incomplete form) the whole of Books I–XIII of the *Elements* as well as the spurious Book XV. The equally spurious Book XIV, however, appears only in a curious paraphrase and pastiche of its, and Book XV's, contents.

### THE MANUSCRIPTS

I. Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, *Fonds latin* 7373, 178 fols., ca. 18 × 27 cm., vellum, 13th century: Our unique translation of Books I–XIII and XV of the *Elements* occupies folios 2r–167v and 173r–175v, the abbreviated version of Books XIV and XV the intervening folios



167v-172v.<sup>4</sup> The codex opens (1r, otherwise blank) with a verse announcing Euclid's princely stature in geometry, an honor shared with Aristotle in logic and the whole of philosophy, Boethius in arithmetic, and Cicero in rhetoric.<sup>5</sup> The verso of this first leaf bears an inscription revealing that the codex was in Spain in the mid-fifteenth century: In 1441 one Johannes de Ripis purchased the manuscript from a certain cleric in Barcelona for a price of ten golden florins.<sup>6</sup> A comparison of this disclosure of its sale with our judgment of the origin of the codex suggests that its circulation for roughly two hundred years was relatively local. For the basic hand of the manuscript appears to derive from southern France, or perhaps Spain, in the latter part of the first half of the thirteenth century.<sup>7</sup> What is more, the codex closes with another indication of purchase, this time without date or place: the verso of its final leaf (178v) bears a mostly illegible medieval Hebrew inscription announcing, it seems, that one Shelomo Sherez bought it from Vansheres Zubesh. Unfortunately, the price defies deciphering, though a second, confusing line declares that [Shelomo Sherez?] "gave it to me as [some kind of?] token (*siman regel*)."<sup>8</sup> A second Hebrew inscription (probably in the same hand) above this notice of transferred ownership resembles an Islamic *ijāza*. It discloses that "Gil learned this composition (or second part?) of Euclid very well" and is signed (illegibly) and dated "Tishrī (11 Sept-10 Oct) 1466(?)." <sup>8</sup> Consequently, it seems likely that the manuscript changed hands several times in the fifteenth century and was carefully studied by at least one scholar, perhaps a Sephardic Jew.

The remaining leaves of the codex offer one last fragment of evidence for a date: a *terminus a quo* falling some fifty to seventy years prior to the probable time of transcription. This confirming testimony is supplied by a set of Easter tables (176v-178r) employing the familiar 532-year cycle, which contain as base the date "MCLXXXI" in the margin (177r).<sup>9</sup> Thus the year previous to this "base-year," 1180 A.D., affords us one more criterion — howsoever obvious it might be in terms of the hand of the manuscript — of the age of the present copy of our Euclid translation.

Finally, in appropriate medieval fashion, no scrap of vellum escapes uninscribed: folio 176r presents a fragment of "magic theology," half Latin, half Greek-like make-believe, all neatly enclosed in enchainéd circles, triangles, and semicircles.<sup>10</sup>

The Euclid translation forming the nucleus of the manuscript is preserved intact save for its first, original folio. This missing leaf was replaced, probably in the fourteenth century, by another (now 2r-v)

bearing the requisite definitions, postulates, and common notions of Euclid's first book, not in the text of our Greek-Latin translation, but in that of the more popular Adelard II version.<sup>11</sup> The enunciation of the first proposition of Book I, also contained on the initial lost leaf, has been added — but once again in its Adelardian form — to the top of folio 3r. It is only after this point that our translation from the Greek begins (with the proof for Proposition 1). Indeed, the subsequent grafting of the Adelard opening to the *Elements* may explain the confusion of the only previous report of our manuscript of which I am aware, which surprisingly takes no notice of the obviously Greek basis of the remainder of the translation.<sup>12</sup>

This Paris manuscript presents the oldest and most complete copy of our previously unknown translation; it is written with extreme clarity and, to judge from collations I have made with the Greek text, is a nearly faultless copy, perhaps of the pristine exemplar of the translation itself. As we shall see, however, the translation should in all likelihood be ascribed to the twelfth, and not the thirteenth, century; consequently, none of the hands employed in this manuscript can be that of the translator or original scribe. What I have called the "basic hand" above can be most adequately characterized as thirteenth-century gothic. Moreover, even though other scribes assisted the "basic hand" in preparing this codex (one scribe offering an almost artificial humanist script),<sup>13</sup> we can nevertheless maintain that the whole was completed about the middle of the thirteenth century; for the same "basic hand" closes the codex with the transcription of Book XV. Careful execution is also apparent in the illumination of initial letters for all books (including the beginning of the inserted paraphrase of XIV–XV). Lettered figures, most likely by additional scribes, are present through X, 59; from this point on, figures are sometimes lacking or, if present, occasionally unlettered. Numeration of the propositions is erratic, a situation frequently the result of eliminating numerals by later paring of the margins. In some places, both Roman and Hindu-Arabic numerals specify the propositions (Book V); in another we find both Hindu-Arabic numerals and the "modern" Arabic numerals<sup>14</sup> in the computus tables at the end of the codex. Occasional marginalia, some in the same hand as the text, explain Grecisms, indicate which previous propositions are being used in a proof, or insert passages inadvertently omitted in transcribing.<sup>15</sup> Lastly, correction of the letters specifying geometrical figures in the text on at least two occasions (X, 25 and 29; 89r, 90r–v) by the hand of the "illustrator" again suggests that more than cursory attention was

directed to the production of this first, and fundamental, copy of our text.

II. *Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Fondo Conventi Soppressi, C I 448 (olim Conv. Santa Maria Novella), 104 fols in 2<sup>o</sup>, vellum, un-foliated, 14th century*: A less interesting, as well as less complete and later, manuscript than the Paris copy of our translation; its sole addition to the text of the *Elements* is a traditional rubric (in red) at the head of the first leaf: "In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Amen. Incipit liber Ec<lidis>." Folios 11-104v contain the text of the Latin translation we are examining, through the middle of the proof of X,<sub>48</sub>.<sup>16</sup> The primary value of this second extant copy rests in its preservation of the missing definitions, postulates, and common notions of Book I together with the lost enunciation of Proposition I. Collation of several passages with the text presented by BN 7373 reveals an all but identical text: even the transliteration of a Greek word after its translation is repeated.<sup>17</sup> At this stage of examination of the two MSS it would appear — even in face of a difference found in V,<sub>23</sub> (to be discussed below) and other minor variants — that the Florence and Paris codices were copied from a single original, or, perhaps, the former from the latter. Further investigation will be required to establish their relation definitively.

Like its Parisian predecessor the Florence codex carries illuminated initials, lettered figures throughout, and spasmodic marginalia that gloss definitions (to Books V and X), present inserts for omitted phrases, expound Grecisms, and offer numerical examples (in Book V) of propositions dealing with proportion. Though incomplete in its present form, the abrupt ending which fills the very last line of the final leaf points to a previously more complete copy.

#### THE STYLE AND SCOPE OF THE TRANSLATION<sup>18</sup>

When Burgundio of Pisa, well versed in the rendering of Greek texts into Latin, urged the wisdom and necessity of translating *de verbo ad verbum*,<sup>19</sup> he could have easily cited our translation of the *Elements* as a sterling and obedient example. Rare is it, for example, that a particle, no matter how insignificant, finds no mate in the Latin; articles are either represented by *id quod* when followed by an attributive phrase or filled in by the mathematical entity (*recta, numerus, circulus*, etc.) for which they speak;<sup>20</sup> and at times the ordering of words is dictated by the Greek at hand and not the custom (even a medieval one) of Latin

syntax. Nor is this predilection for precision and fidelity a mere enthusiastic beginning that wears thin and becomes forgotten as the propositions push on; it is retained, literally, to the bitter end.<sup>21</sup> Comparison of the first proposition in the Latin translation with its Greek base reflects the method and style of this version more adequately than could any description:

Ἐπὶ τῆς δοθείσης εὐθείας πεπερασμένης τρίγωνον

Super datam rectam terminatam trigonum

ἰσόπλευρον συστήσασθαι.

isopleurum constituere.

Ἔστω ἡ δοθεῖσα εὐθεῖα πεπερασμένη ἡ  $AB$ .

Esto data recta terminata  $AB$ .

Δεῖ δὴ ἐπὶ τῆς  $AB$  εὐθείας τρίγωνον ἰσόπλευρον συστήσασθαι.

Oportet ergo super  $AB$  rectam trigonum isopleurum constituere.

Κέντρῳ μὲν τῷ  $A$  διαστήματι δὲ τῷ  $AB$  κύκλος γεγράφθω ὁ  $\Gamma\Delta B$ ,

Centro quidem  $A$  diastimati vero  $AB$  circulus scribatur  $GDB$ ,

καὶ πάλιν κέντρῳ μὲν τῷ  $B$  διαστήματι δὲ τῷ  $BA$  κύκλος γεγράφθω ὁ  
et rursum centro  $B$  spatio vero  $AB$  circulus scribatur

$\Gamma AE$ , καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ  $\Gamma$  σημείου, καθ' ὃ τέμνουσιν ἀλλήλους οἱ  
 $GAE$ , et a puncto  $G$ , secundum quod secant se invicem

κύκλοι, ἐπὶ τὰ  $A, B$  σημεία ἐπεζεύχθωσαν εὐθεῖαι αἱ  $\Gamma A, \Gamma B$ .

circuli, in  $A, B$  puncta copulentur recte  $GA$  et  $GB$ .

Καὶ ἐπεὶ τὸ  $A$  σημεῖον κέντρον ἐστὶ τοῦ  $\Gamma\Delta B$  κύκλου, ἴση

Et quoniam  $A$  punctus centrum est circuli  $GDB$ , equalis

ἐστὶν ἡ  $AG$  τῇ  $AB$ . πάλιν, ἐπεὶ τὸ  $B$  σημεῖον κέντρον ἐστὶ τοῦ  
est  $AG$  recte  $AB$ . Rursus, quoniam  $B$  punctus centrum est

$\Gamma AE$  κύκλου, ἴση ἐστὶν ἡ  $BG$  τῇ  $BA$ . ἐδείχθη δὲ καὶ ἡ  
circuli  $GAE$ , equalis est  $BG$  recte  $BA$ . Ostensa est autem et

$\Gamma A$  τῇ  $AB$  ἴση· ἐκατέρα ἄρα τῶν  $\Gamma A, \Gamma B$  τῇ  $AB$   
 $GA$  recte  $AB$  equalis. Utraque ergo rectarum  $GA$  et  $GB$  recte  $AB$

ἐστὶν ἴση. τὰ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ ἴσα καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐστὶν ἴσα· καὶ ἡ  
est equalis. Eidem vero equalia et alteriis equalia sunt. Et

$\Gamma A$  ἄρα τῇ  $\Gamma B$  ἐστὶν ἴση· αἱ τρεῖς ἄρα αἱ  $\Gamma A, AB, BG$   
 $GA$  ergo recte  $GB$  est equalis. Tres ergo recte  $GA, AB, BG$

ἴσαι ἀλλήλαις εἰσίν.

equales sibi invicem sunt.



ἰσόπλευρον ἄρα ἐστὶ τὸ ABΓ τρίγωνον. καὶ συνέσταται ἐπὶ  
 Equilaterum ergo est ABG trigonum. Et constitutum est super  
 τῆς δοθείσης εὐθείας πεπερασμένης τῆς AB. ὅπερ ἔδει ποιῆσαι.  
 datam rectam terminatam AB. Quod oportebat facere.

(Heib. I, 10, 14-12, 17)<sup>22</sup>

(3r)

This brief sample leaves no doubt of the Greek source of the translation. Grecisms abound, not only for technical terms (though here the translator is not consistent), but for non-mathematical words; Latin compounds are constructed to match those of the original; and the lettering for figures is decidedly Greek (with *H* uniformly rendered as I).<sup>23</sup> This evidence alone might place our translation among the “painfully literal” efforts of the twelfth century that Haskins and others have noted.<sup>24</sup> But more definitive criteria are forthcoming.

Evaluation of the precise contents of the translation, as well as the possible Greek manuscripts used, must at present remain preliminary; only complete transcription of the text can assure decisive judgment. Yet several broader conclusions can be drawn with reasonable certainty. The most significant is that the translation presents an essentially Theonine text, that is, a text based on the Greek redaction of the *Elements* prepared by Theon of Alexandria in the fourth century.<sup>25</sup> Thus it will apparently be of little or no use in confirming the decisions Heiberg has made in getting behind Theon to reach the pristine text of the *magnum opus* of Euclid. The brief examination I have made of the translation has revealed it to contain nearly all the basic changes, additions, and alternative demonstrations characteristic of the Theonine tradition.<sup>26</sup> Variations from this tradition are, when they occur (very infrequently), of minor significance and could reasonably be accounted for without assuming that the translator had a non-Theonine Greek text at hand.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, one major exception that I have noticed deserves consideration: the (in all versions) problematic XI, 1.<sup>28</sup> In his unsatisfactory proof of this proposition, Euclid attempts to demonstrate that two straight lines under investigation cannot have a common segment; the “pristine” text (Heiberg’s Greek manuscript P) gives one reason why this cannot be so, the Theonine tradition another, and seemingly a sounder, one.<sup>29</sup> Curiously enough, the translation verges from its usual Theonine path at this point and follows P. Does this mean that the translator had at his disposal, at least in this Book, P or some text like P, as well as Theon’s version? Not necessarily, it can be argued. For, although Heiberg’s variants to these lines read as though



none of his Theonine codices have P's reading in addition to their own, he later notes that some codices in this latter tradition do have P's reading as well<sup>30</sup> and still later specifies several basically Theonine manuscripts which follow such an earlier, supposedly more pristine, text.<sup>31</sup> It is therefore possible that the translator was utilizing one or more Theonine manuscripts of this type and not a substantially non-Theonine codex like P. Clearly, any resolution of this puzzle requires further investigation of the extant copies of the Greek text. Yet it would be surprising should the outcome of such an investigation alter the overwhelming evidence that our translation is Theonine.

Other features of the content of the translation are equally interesting, if less general in scope. Six of the Greek scholia Heiberg has published appear within the text,<sup>32</sup> as well as three others which are not, so far as I have been able to discover, among the multitude thus far edited.<sup>33</sup> One of these unlocatable additions occurs as an appendage to the corollary to XII,7 and offers an alternative ground for its claim.<sup>34</sup> Though this scholium is possibly of Greek origin, the remaining two that do not appear in Heiberg's all but exhaustive collection have a more distinctly medieval tone. The first is inserted between the enunciation and proof for V,14 and offers what was to become a standard scholastic observation: only quantities that are homogeneous or of the same nature or genus can properly be compared, in particular (and most pertinent to the proposition at hand) when such comparison is that entailed in ratios or proportions.<sup>35</sup> And a similar, but more concise, warning follows the translation's version of V,15.<sup>36</sup> What is more, a clearly medieval marginal note (the longest in the whole codex) relates the substance of the stated requirement of homogeneous magnitudes to the fabric of scholastic logic: when it is claimed that the magnitudes involved in this proposition (V,14) must be of a single genus, we must not interpret this restriction *predicamentaliter*, that is, 'genus' should not be taken in the sense of the Aristotelian category of quantity. Such an interpretation, we are cautioned, is too broad properly to fit the matter at hand.<sup>37</sup>

Further evidence of the translation's consideration of the medieval Latin reader is found in its reproduction (in Theonine fashion) of the analyses and syntheses accompanying the first five propositions of Book XIII.<sup>38</sup> The translator begins by rendering the Greek definitions of "analysis" and "synthesis":

Analisis est sumptio quesiti sicut concessi procedens per sequentia ad aliquid verum concessum. Sintesis est sumptio concessi procedens per sequentia ad quesiti sumptionem (155r).

Then, with an apparent eye to his prospective Latin audience, he parenthetically adds:

Subiecte diffinitiones magis congruunt latino idiomati: Analysis est eversa demonstratio concessi per quesitum; sintesis est ordinata demonstratio quesiti per concessum (155r),

more pointedly revealing the contrary logical direction and character of the two procedures.

Another twist in the translation is more puzzling than enlightening and, at least initially, invites further conjecture within the history of the transmission of the *Elements*. At the end of the proof to X, 19 (presumably X, 22 in the numeration of our translation)<sup>39</sup> are found the words *Alia translatio*. Yet what directly follows is not a variant version of X, 19, but rather a translation of the enunciation of X, 20 (X, 23 of our Latin).<sup>40</sup> Curiously, this translation is not written in the larger hand employed for all other enunciations. Immediately following, however, there appears another enunciation for X, 20, this time in the larger script.<sup>41</sup> Unlike its predecessor, it finds no *de verbo ad verbum* counterpart in the Greek text or variants. Clearly, the first enunciation headed "alia translatio" is that consonant with the style and character which our translation exhibits throughout. Why should this be labeled "alia" and the similar, but less exact, enunciation appear in the usual slot directly before its proof? Moreover, what significance is to be attached to the duplicity of translations? A probable answer to the latter question may assist in resolving the former. To begin with, the second enunciation is not drawn from any of the known medieval Arabic-Latin translations of the *Elements*.<sup>42</sup> Secondly, it is possible that our translator had a Greek variant, not a Latin rendition, in mind on this occasion and it was this that he called "alia translatio." If so, such a variant no longer seems to form part of the extant Greek texts. Furthermore, though it would be odd to regard the reading presented by all the Greek manuscripts recorded by Heiberg as the secondary one, this might, as we shall see, be explained by other circumstances. A third possible inference is the existence at this time of another version of the *Elements* based upon — as the character of the second enunciation would suggest — the Greek tradition; but this must remain conjectural. A fourth possibility seems to offer, in terms of present knowledge, the most likely resolution. The Greek text forming the basis of the first enunciation specified as "alia translatio" utilizes, unlike the enunciation of the preceding proposition, merely a distinction in gender — *ῥητόν* vs. *παρὰ ῥητήν* — to indicate that it is the application of a rational







*area* to a rational *line* that is in question. Perhaps the translator felt that an exact rendering of the Greek would cause an ambiguity in the mind of his Latin reader<sup>43</sup> and that a more specific indication of the intent of the proposition was in order. The second enunciation — even in face of a slight difference in meaning from the Greek — does precisely that: “If we apply the breadth of a rational [area]<sup>44</sup> to a rational straight line, it will produce a rational [straight line]<sup>45</sup> commensurable in length with that to which it is applied.”<sup>46</sup> That this is a plausible explanation of the two translations of the enunciation to X,20 is also suggested by the variant beginning of its proof.<sup>47</sup> Consequently, we probably have two versions of a single Greek text both by our translator. The implied existence of some unknown Greek variant or Latin translation that the second and third alternative explanations would entail is less likely to be the proper way out of our puzzle.

The remaining problem of why the exact rendering of the Greek should be termed “another translation” may well be explained by the possible fortunes the text underwent upon subsequent transcription. Perhaps the words “*alia translatio*” were originally a marginal annotation introduced into the body of the text by a later scribe to precede the wrong alternative enunciation. On the other hand, howsoever strange it might appear to call the exact translation “*alia*,” the closer fit of the second enunciation with the opening of the proof strongly suggests that things belong as we have them and the translator actually did intend his more precise version as the alternative one.<sup>48</sup>

Of the remaining features uncovered in my preliminary analysis of the translation, many are insignificant: for example, the occasional numeration and setting-off of lemmas, porisms, and other additions as regular propositions<sup>49</sup> and the frequent abbreviation of the repetitious endings of proofs.<sup>50</sup> However, one final peculiarity of our Greek-Latin *Elements*, seemingly unimportant at first glance, is of greater weight: ten times the translator has placed sections or phrases of his text in square brackets. The fact that these brackets appear in both our manuscripts<sup>51</sup> is one indication that this unusual form of medieval punctuation is not due to some later scribe; other evidence that they were the intention of the translator himself arises as soon as the nature of the bracketings is examined. Among the less informative, and certainly less interesting, appearances of this device, one finds a case of dittography (XI,33) due to the scribe or perhaps to the translator; the bracketing of several explanatory “*hoc est*” (τοῦτέστιν) phrases found in Theonine manuscripts inserted within the beginning definitions of Book X<sup>52</sup> or of a similar appositional remark presumably of the translator’s



own making;<sup>53</sup> and, finally, of an alternative definition given by the Greek of a solid angle (Heib. IV, 4, 10–12). Two other instances of the same punctuation are, however, more complex and unexpected; they speak not for the stylistic, but the logical, acumen of the translator.

The first (V, 23) suggests the removal of superfluous steps in one of Euclid's more cumbersome moments, the surplus moves themselves being involved in proving an intermediate conclusion. Curiously enough, the "definitive" Greek manuscript Heiberg has employed in his edition contains just this awkward, overstuffed version of the proof. The Theonine codices contain this and also an addition furnishing another proof of the same intermediate conclusion. Our Latin version follows the Theonine tradition but has all save the added alternative proof enclosed in square brackets. We are permitted, it would seem, to delete this section. And why not? Its omission is not only permissible, but heralds a distinct improvement.<sup>54</sup> The parenthetical punctuation speaks first for recognition of the duplicity in the proof and then for the appropriate choice the translator, like several later editors of the *Elements*,<sup>55</sup> has made in screening the least satisfactory alternative in the Greek text, or texts, before him. He possessed, this suggests, competence in mathematics as well as languages.

We need only examine another example of his bracketing to confirm this suspicion. In IX, 12, the concluding lines of a proof contain several moves not found, so far as I have been able to determine, in the text or variants of extant Greek originals; and here the translator, apparently once more aware that certain steps were superfluous, applies his brackets to cut matters down to an appropriate logical size. Something of the course of reasoning will make his intentions more explicit: Euclid, wishing to prove that a certain prime number E measures A, has embarked upon a *reductio ad absurdum*; from the assumption that E does not measure A he has derived the conclusion that E does measure A, whence he adds, as our translator renders, the appropriate *quod impossibile* (Heib. II, 362, 13–366, 3). The Latin version now presents two paths to drive the conclusion home. One is the procedure exhibited by the Greek: the absurdity just reached implies that E and A are not prime, but composite, to one another; yet, since E is by hypothesis prime, it is measured by no other number (unity excluded) save itself; therefore, since numbers composite to one another are by definition measured by some number, E measures A; Q.E.D. Now the translator does reproduce this reasoning, albeit with additional clauses (a few unintentionally repetitive perhaps) not found in the Greek. But, more important, he encloses the whole within his square brackets. This

can, we are thus told, be omitted; a second conclusion to our proof is possible. We may, that is, reason directly from the impossibility that E both measures, and does not measure, A as follows: it is not the case that E does not measure A (our original assumption for the *reductio*); consequently, it does measure it; Q.E.D.<sup>56</sup> The move is a strictly logical once; no further appeal is made, as in the conclusion advocated by the Greek, to the mathematics of prime and composite numbers. Our demonstrandum is reached, we may claim, by the application of a logical law: If *not-p* implies *p*, then *p*.<sup>57</sup> Nor is this merely an accidental revelation of the fact that the translator was able to fathom the structure of his text; it launches him, or better, his version of the *Elements*, into a position of minor importance in the history of logic. The logical principle applied in his abbreviated proof bears an influential, though disconnected, role in the history both of logic and of mathematics. The deductive form it represents is what has come to be known as a *consequentia mirabilis*. Its earliest appearance in philosophy seems to be in Aristotle's familiar argument for the necessity of his *métier*, preserved in a fragment from the *Protrepticus*.<sup>58</sup> More to our purposes, and certainly of greater impact upon subsequent scientific history, is its most signal occurrence in Greek mathematics: the very proposition (IX, 12) of Euclid's *Elements* under present discussion. The character of the logical sequence in the proof for this proposition was duly recorded by the sixteenth-century Jesuit, Christopher Clavius, in his richly annotated edition of the *Elements*. Euclid's form of reasoning is, Clavius claimed, like unto proving that Socrates is white from the assumption that he is not white.<sup>59</sup> This might have remained an innocent and uninfluential piece of *curiosa* had not Girolamo Saccheri attempted to turn it to his own uses. Probably noting Clavius' aside as a point of departure, Saccheri was to forge this principle as a potential weapon in his *Logica demonstrativa* (1697, 2nd ed. 1701, 3rd ed. 1735) and thence to try its mettle in the crucial work in the early history of non-Euclidean geometry, his *Euclides ab omni naevo vindicatus* (1733). Though his efforts ended in frustration, he had hoped to deduce the truth of the parallel postulate from the supposition of its falsity; the *consequentia mirabilis*, he trusted, would bear marvelous fruit.<sup>60</sup>

Saccheri's unsuccessful "quest for the holy grail" (as his most recent editor has called it) placed the methodological twist of IX, 12 in the center of an important segment of later mathematical history. And Clavius may well have been the stimulus. The connection our medieval translator's bracketing in IX, 12 has with these later fortunes is, of course, merely a logical one. Though, unlike Clavius, he makes no

statement about the form of Euclid's procedure, his bracketing reveals that he did understand the logic of it all. He would have, it is true, been even more perspicacious had he also bracketed the opening move in Euclid's proof, for this too is unnecessary.<sup>61</sup> Nonetheless, if one heeds his suggestion for omission, the logical framework of Euclid's argument, or, more correctly, of its key move, is brought into starker relief. It would be enlightening to know whether the brief additions the translator has introduced into the text — additions which have enabled him properly to omit the section he has distinguished — were inventions of his own or were derived from some variant Greek text no longer extant or hitherto unnoticed. Whatever the answer may be, his sharpening of Euclid's *consequentia mirabilis* as well as his bracketed emendation for the clumsy V,23 leave no doubt of his ability; he must have had, one can claim, his mathematical wits about him.

#### THE GREEK SOURCES OF THE TRANSLATION

That the translation was made directly from the Greek is obvious; which Greek manuscript or manuscripts it employed, is not. The determination of an exact source is more than mere historical detail; for — coupled with what information we can gather concerning the translator himself — conjecture concerning at least one of the Greek codices he had before him will unravel further strands of the story of how, where, and when the translation came to be. The conjecture I should like to offer and support is that the translator utilized several Greek codices and that one of these manuscripts was probably the ninth-century Codex Bodleianus Dorvillianus X, 1 inf. 2,30 (Heiberg's siglum "B"). I shall at present attempt to establish merely that this was so, reserving for the following section discussion of the nature of this Greek codex and of its significance for the history of our translation.

With the caveat that any evidence presented must remain incomplete until text and translation are collated throughout, the reasons why the Bodley Euclid (hereafter, with Heiberg, "MS B") seems likely to have been in the translator's hands can be tabulated as follows:

- (1) The general agreement or disagreement of our Latin version with groups of Greek MSS (these similarities or differences have been noted at random without regard for which Greek codices were used) initially suggests B as a probable source. Where the translation agrees with these groups (some sixty times), B is the common factor in all but six cases; and in these six the "non-B" reading constitutes a minor variant, or could have been reached by sense other than by

text.<sup>62</sup> The remaining three cases furnish evidence for the employment of two or more MSS and will be discussed below.<sup>63</sup> On the other hand, when the Latin disagrees with groups of MSS, unless it is a question of whole lemmas or *alterae demonstrationes* being omitted, B is almost always missing from the group of MSS in question.

(2) A checking of the translation against some significant unique variants of B yields more conclusive results. However, before analyzing such a check it is well to note (a) that if several MSS were used by the translator, disagreements with such variants of B are less important and conclusive than are agreements, particularly when the agreement is with a major variation; and (b) that the translator's attention to sense and logic and not just words renders his disagreement with variant errors in B possible, if not likely, even without other MSS. Finally, (c) only variants most likely to come through in translation have been selected. Unfortunately, of the Theonine MSS, B has perhaps the fewest variants, and thus our task is more difficult. Initially even more frustrating is the fact that of fifty-seven significant unique variants of B drawn throughout I–XIII of the *Elements*, our translation disagrees twenty-seven times. However, almost all these are of minor importance.<sup>64</sup> What is more, if we allow for multiple MSS, these disagreements need not give evidence that B was not used. On the other hand, the thirty agreements of our version with B's unique variants are more significant, though some again deal with present or absent particles or understood verbs.<sup>65</sup> Their presence in the translation could only be accounted for by the utilization of B or of some other codex extremely close to, perhaps copied from, B. But there is, so far as I know, no such extant codex.

(3) Examination of a brief selection of variants in which B agrees with one other manuscript confirms the impression derived from the analysis of unique variants and at the same time dissociates the translation from B's nearest neighbor. Here, in twenty-seven cases chosen at random, the Latin rendition disagrees only six times, all but one easily explicable on grounds similar to those noted above.<sup>66</sup> Of the other twenty-one instances of agreement, by far the most frequent and important are the seventeen times the translation agrees with a reading exhibited only by B and the Parisian MS 2466 (Heiberg's "p").<sup>67</sup> Their importance stems from the fact that this latter codex is quite closely related to B, even though not copied from it.<sup>68</sup> Here, the agreements of the translation with both B and p often cover major variants, equally significant, one may say, to those mentioned



above in investigating B's unique readings.<sup>69</sup> But we can show, in turn, that neither p nor some codex copied from p<sup>70</sup> could have been, in place of B, the translator's source. For the Latin version also disagrees with p when it reads alone against B.<sup>71</sup> We can infer that what seems to be the extant manuscript most closely related to B was probably not employed in preparing the Latin Euclid. B itself, or some lost copy of it, is still the best candidate.

(4) The final consideration urging B as at least one of the translator's originals emerges from two instances of the bracketing discussed above. As already indicated, six of the scholia published by Heiberg have been included in the translation. One of them — to II, 14 — appears only in MS B in the Greek (Heib. V, 257, 11–21) and affords additional evidence for its use in the Latin version. But even more decisive is the fact that four of the six scholia are found in B or other MSS,<sup>72</sup> but that the two which do not appear in B are both enclosed in the translator's curious square brackets.<sup>73</sup> Is this not his idiosyncratic way of telling us that he was diverging from his basic Greek source and employing one or more additional manuscripts? If this is a fair inference (and I think it is), then we are once again told that B, or some copy very much like B, was a basic ingredient in the execution of our Latin *Elements*. And we are also told that it was not the only ingredient.

(5) However, though it may thus be clear that one or more additional manuscripts were at hand, identification does not seem possible. Evidence equally convincing as that for B's employment cannot, at least at this stage, be gleaned from our text. Still, one can conjecture that some manuscript related to Heiberg's Viennese codex (V) may have been used. For not only do the two bracketed scholia appear in V, but the translation also bears an addition to VII, 3 found only in V.<sup>74</sup> One might hence judge that V itself was, in addition to B, utilized. This would, however, be likely only if V and another additional codex were at hand. For, (a) since editing the *Elements* Heiberg has described numerous other manuscripts related to V,<sup>75</sup> (b) the second bracketed scholium in the translation differs from its text in V, and (c) there is an addition (after V, def. 7) in the Latin which is found in neither V nor B.<sup>76</sup> Consequently, one might suggest the following alternatives: (a) some, perhaps no longer extant, relative of V was the sole additional manuscript used by the translator, (b) V itself and one or more other codices constituted this additional help, or (c) some relative of V plus one or more manuscripts formed the additional material. Any more precise inference seems unwarranted.



In sum, however, this indecision concerning a second or third Greek original does not affect the probable history behind the Greek-Latin Euclid. For this, B is sufficient.

### THE TRANSLATOR

We must now turn, however, to when where, and by whom our translation might have been executed. Once again any conjecture must be based on a careful analysis of the Latin version, this time a stylistic analysis of the *de verbo ad verbum* technique. The total absence of any indication of the identity of the translator in either extant copy necessitates such a proceeding. We must also disabuse ourselves of any hope or suspicion that the translator may have been one among those whom we know to have labored in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries turning Greek material into Latin. He was not, we shall see, William of Moerbeke, Robert Grosseteste, Henricus Aristippus, Burgundio of Pisa, and so forth.<sup>77</sup> Positive results can be found, on the other hand, if we compare the technique and style of our translation with that of the anonymous Latin version of four other Greek scientific works: Euclid's *Data*, *Optica*, and *Catoptrica*, and Ptolemy's *Almagest*.<sup>78</sup> Tabulation of the Latin used to render Greek particles in these four translations as well as in our version of the *Elements* yields the following results:<sup>79</sup>

(1) ἀλλά:	<i>Elements</i> :	sed (14), verum (9), vero (1).
	<i>Almagest</i> :	sed (9), verum (6), at (1).
	<i>Data</i> :	sed (7), sed et (1).
	<i>Optica</i> :	sed (11), vero (1).
	<i>Catoptrica</i> :	sed (3).
(2) ἄρα:	<i>Elements</i> :	ergo (185), itaque (2).
	<i>Almagest</i> :	ergo (38), igitur (3), quare (2), unde (1).
	<i>Data</i> :	ergo (130), itaque (1), quoque (1).
	<i>Optica</i> :	ergo (58), igitur (8), itaque (7), om. (1).
	<i>Catoptrica</i> :	ergo (53), om. (4), itaque (1), vero (1).
(3) γάρ:	<i>Elements</i> :	enim (70).
	<i>Almagest</i> :	enim (28), namque (1).
	<i>Data</i> :	enim (48), nam (1), quoniam (?) (1), om. (1).
	<i>Optica</i> :	enim (17), vero (1), ergo (1), om. (1).
	<i>Catoptrica</i> :	enim (36), om. (2).

(4) δέ:	<i>Elements:</i>	vero (118), autem (80), atque (2), om. (2), -que (1), itaque (1), quoque (1), vere (1).
	<i>Almagest:</i>	vero (144), autem (66), atque (17), om. (6), -que (3), at vero (3).
	<i>Data:</i>	vero (31), -que (11), atque (7), at (6), autem (5), et (5), om. (3), autem et (1), ergo (1), quoque (1), sed et (1), etiam (1), at vero (1), at . . . etiam (1), -que . . . etiam (1), atque . . . etiam (1).
	<i>Optica:</i>	vero (45), autem (30), om. (14), et (4), -que (2), at vero (1), sed et (1), sed (1), quoque (1), quidem (1).
	<i>Catoptrica:</i>	vero (67), autem (28), om. (20), -que (17), et (6), ergo (3), quoque (3), atque (3), quidem (2), at vero (2), at (1).
(5) δή:	<i>Elements:</i>	ergo (46), et (4), autem (1), itaque (1), om. (1).
	<i>Almagest:</i>	ergo (20), vero (2), igitur (1), itaque (1).
	<i>Data:</i>	et (4), autem (3), vero (1), quoque (1), om. (1).
	<i>Optica:</i>	autem (11), vero (2), om. (2).
	<i>Catoptrica:</i>	vero (5), om. (2), autem (1), etiam (1), quoque (1), quod (1).
(6) ἐπεί:	<i>Elements:</i>	quoniam (60) [ἐπείπερ: quo- niam (1); ἐπειδή: quoniam (1); ἐπειδὴπερ: quoniam quidem (3), quoniam (1)].
	<i>Almagest:</i>	quoniam (33) [ἐπειδὴπερ: quo- niam quidem (1)].
	<i>Data:</i>	quoniam (55) [ἐπειδὴπερ: quo- niam quidem (1)].
	<i>Optica:</i>	quoniam (26) [ἐπειδή: quoniam (1); ἐπειδὴπερ: quoniam qui- dem (2)].
	<i>Catoptrica:</i>	quoniam (16) [ἐπειδὴ: quoniam (1)].

- (7) ἔτι: *Elements*: adhuc (3), amplius (3) [οὐκέτι: non adhuc (1)].  
*Almagest*: adhuc (5), etiam (2), amplius (1).  
*Optica*: [οὐκέτι: non iam (1)].  
*Catoptrica*: [οὐκέτι: non iam (2)].
- (8) καί: *Elements*: et (342), -que (13), ut (1), *om.* (1) [τε . . . καί: et (6), et . . . et (3), scilicet et (1)].  
*Almagest*: et (315), -que (16), atque (3), quoque (2), *om.* (2), at (1), sed (1) [τε . . . καί: et (44), et . . . et (41), scilicet et (2), atque (1)].  
*Data*: et (170), etiam (17), -que (7), atque (7), *om.* (2), autem (1), quoque (1), rursum (1) [τε . . . καί: et (3)].  
*Optica*: et (113), *om.* (13), -que (10), quoque (1), atque (1), autem (1) [τε . . . καί: et (2)].  
*Catoptrica*: et (120), -que (9), ergo (1) τε . . . καί: et . . . et (2), et (1)].
- (9) μὲν: *Elements*: quidem (59), *om.* (2).  
*Almagest*: quidem (114), *om.* (22).  
*Data*: quidem (7), *om.* (7).  
*Optica*: quidem (19), *om.* (17).  
*Catoptrica*: quidem (22), *om.* (8).
- (10) ὅταν: *Elements*: quando (27).  
*Almagest*: quando (15).  
*Data*: quotiens (4).
- (11) ὅτι: *Elements*: quoniam (58).  
*Almagest*: quoniam (30).  
*Data*: quod (25), quoniam (6).  
*Optica*: quod (13), quoniam (8).  
*Catoptrica*: quoniam (8), quod (6).
- (12) οὕτως: *Elements*: ita (3).  
[see below, (15)]  
*Almagest*: ita (9), sic (1), hoc modo (1).  
*Data*: ita (1).  
*Optica*: sic (2).  
*Catoptrica*: ita (1).

(13) $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\upsilon$ :	<i>Elements</i> :	ursum (13), rursus (5), <i>om.</i> (1).
	<i>Almagest</i> :	ursum (38), rursus (2), <i>om.</i> (1).
	<i>Data</i> :	ursum (6).
	<i>Optica</i> :	ursum (4).
	<i>Catoptrica</i> :	ursum (7), rursus (2), item (1), <i>om.</i> (1).
(14) $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ :	<i>Elements</i> :	ut (8), sicut (2).
	<i>Almagest</i> :	ut (8), velut (5), sicut (2), quare (1).
	<i>Data</i> :	ut (1).
	<i>Optica</i> :	<i>om.</i> (3), sicut (1).
	<i>Catoptrica</i> :	ut (3).
(15) $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \dots \omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$ : [in proportions]	<i>Elements</i> :	ut ... ita (32), sicut ... ita (10).
	<i>Almagest</i> :	sicut ... ita (6), ut ... ita (5) [ $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma \dots \acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ : ita ... ut (3)].
	<i>Data</i> :	sicut ... ita (27), ut ... ita (3), quemadmodum ... ita (2), si- cut ... sic (1).
	<i>Optica</i> :	sicut ... ita (6), ut ... ita (1).
	<i>Catoptrica</i> :	sicut ... ita (4).
(16) $\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ :	<i>Elements</i> :	quare (15), ut (1).
	<i>Almagest</i> :	quare (39), ita ut (5), ut (4).
	<i>Data</i> :	quare (11).
	<i>Optica</i> :	quare (2), unde (1).
	<i>Catoptrica</i> :	quare (12), que (?) (1).

In spite of minor variations which occur in the Latin counterparts of several particles,<sup>80</sup> taken collectively the evidence urges that the anonymous translator of the *Almagest* and that of our version of the *Elements* are identical. This conclusion is confirmed by other features which the two translations have in common. Neither, for example, consistently applies Grecisms for given technical terms;<sup>81</sup> both create Latin replicas of Greek compound words;<sup>82</sup> and both exhibit other characteristics of literalness noted before.<sup>83</sup>

On the other hand, our tabulation suggests that the *Elements* and *Almagest* were not translated by the same person as the *Data*, *Optica*, and *Catoptrica*, though there are indications that these latter three minor Euclidean works may well have been rendered into Latin by a single figure.<sup>84</sup> The most important evidence that seems to separate the former two works from the others is that both consistently render  $\sigma\tau\epsilon$

by *quoniam*, while the three minor works choose *quod* as often as *quoniam*.<sup>85</sup> To this may be added the differences the two groups exhibit in the translation of  $\delta\eta$  and the greater latitude allowed by the *Data* and the two optical treatises in representing  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ .<sup>86</sup> Two final salient differences confirm the distinction of the two groups: (a) both the *Elements* and the *Almagest* employ *copulare* for  $\epsilon\pi\iota\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\gamma\acute{\nu}\nu\alpha\iota$ , while the *Data* uses *coniungere*, the *Optica* *coniungere* and *ducere*, the *Catoptrica* *coniungere* and *trahere*;<sup>87</sup> (b) the two longer works both show a marked preference for *scribere* in rendering  $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\iota\nu$ , while the other three use *describere*.

Consequently, we postulate a single translator for the *Almagest* and our version of the *Elements* and another for the Latin rendition of Euclid's minor triumvirate.<sup>88</sup> To have thus reduced the field of anonymous translators may seem little more than a trifling victory, an important but terminal fact without further implication. Yet this is not so. Anonymous as the Greek-Latin *Almagest* may be,<sup>89</sup> its medieval preface has told us much of its artificer's character and the circumstances of his background, aspirations, and work.<sup>90</sup> From this we can elaborate the history of our version of the *Elements*, find out its place, determine its time, and in return test the fit of our newly discovered translation with what we already know from the translator's "autobiography."

Two key facts stand out in the preface: the Greek-Latin *Almagest* was produced in Sicily and appeared sometime in the third quarter of the twelfth century. Further, the translator was industriously suffering through the study of medicine at Salerno when he came to know that a Greek copy of Ptolemy's *magnum opus* had threaded its way from Constantinople to Palermo; a gift from the Greek emperor to the Sicilian king, it had journeyed west in the hands of a certain emissary named Aristippus.

Haskins sharpens the story with what else we know of this twelfth-century ambassador to Byzantium. He was, we must infer, Henricus Aristippus, well known as a turner of Greek into Latin, particularly through his translations of Plato's *Meno* and *Phaedo*. If we now, continues Haskins, consider Aristippus' time-exhausting administrative duties as royal *familiaris* beginning in 1160 and his imprisonment in 1162, and then search through the diplomatic history of the relations between Sicily and Constantinople up to this time, it seems proper to conclude that the embassy which brought the Greek *Almagest* to Palermo occurred in 1158. Shortly after this date our translator must have learned of its arrival.



So stirring was this news, he tells us, that he bade defiance to Scylla and Charybdis and went in search of the man who carried this treasure to the Sicilian court. He finally found him at Pergusa, scrutinizing volcanic wonders. Unfortunately, our prospective translator confesses, he found himself in need of considerable propaedeutic before he could confidently charge himself with putting Ptolemy into Latin. But these preliminary needs were not merely linguistic (here he was *preinstructus*); they were scientific, and consisted in an examination of precisely those works we have provisionally grouped above as the achievement of another translator: Euclid's *Data*, *Optica*, and *Catoptrica*, and Proclus' *De motu*! Exactly what the nature of his labors with these four treatises was, he does not say; we are merely told that following this prelude of mathematical and scientific preparation he satisfied his aspirations — albeit with the help of a learned “expositor” named Eugene<sup>91</sup> — and set the *Almagest* into Latin. Thus, Haskins calculates, if we allow ample time for our wandering scholar's quest of Aristippus and his subsequent bout with Euclid's minor works and Proclus' brief tract on motion, his translation of the *Almagest* must have been completed by, roughly, 1165. Very well. But at what point does the Latin version of the *Elements* fit into the pattern which the *Almagest* preface allows us to construct? And what, if anything, can our passing brush with the *Data*, *Optica*, *Catoptrica*, and *De motu* tell us of the preliminary study of this quartet that our translator felt obliged to undertake?

If we turn to the latter first, we must admit that the words informing us of this study leave us marooned in ambiguity: *primo quidem in Euclidis Dedomenis, Opticis, et Catoptricis, Phisicaque Procli Elementatione prelusi*.<sup>92</sup> The key, of course, is *prelusi*; yet it opens nothing. True, Heiberg has confidently and directly taken it to mean “translated,” while Haskins more cautiously judges “that he not only studied them but tried his hand (*prelusi*) at turning them into Latin.”<sup>93</sup> But, if we have not erred in maintaining that these four opuscula were translated by a person other than the translator of the *Almagest* and the *Elements*, this cannot be so. Moreover, even if our inference is incorrect and a single scholar is made to account for the Greek-Latin versions of all six works, there is nothing that requires us to take *prelusi* as translating in any sense, no matter how guarded. All one can conclude is that the translator regarded some sort of preparatory work with these four treatises prerequisite to his planned version of Ptolemy. Was this preparation directed primarily toward practice in the translation of Greek? Having no other evidence that it was, I believe our hypothesis of two translators tells us that it was not. What is more, why should

someone *preinstructus* in Greek have to use four works to ready his translating skill for the *Almagest*, which, at least in the language involved, should have presented no special problems? It seems more likely that these preliminaries had an eye to the substance, the mathematics, the science of Euclid and Proclus. The translator probably studied these tracts either in the Greek itself or in previously made Latin translations.<sup>94</sup> And if he did "try his hand" at translating all or any of them, his "rehearsing" is not reflected, I should think, in the Latin versions as we have them today.

Our second problem, that of fitting the translation of the *Elements* into the broader fabric of our medico-mathematical scholar's career, bears more uncertain fruit: imaginative conjecture, with many possible alternatives, is the most any harvest of the evidence will allow. The evidence is meagre: that both *Elements* and *Almagest* owe to a single man their transformation from Greek into Latin. From this the story must unfold, some sense of historical logic being our sole guide.

We can agree, of course, that some familiarity with the geometry of the *Elements* would have served the translator well in his work on the *Almagest*. He could, as Haskins felt,<sup>95</sup> have known his Euclid even before arriving in Sicily. Yet this says nothing of translation; it speaks merely of knowledge and acquaintance, a knowledge that would have held high priority for one who claims already to have studied mathematics.<sup>96</sup> If, on the other hand, we do allow his translation of the *Elements* before the journey to Sicily (and the only suggestion, however weak, that this was not so lies in his failure to mention it in the preface to his Ptolemy), we can only say that it was done sometime before 1160 and cannot know where. The most we might add would be that it was probably not accomplished during his labors with medicine at Salerno.

Alternatively, if we keep in mind the concentration of translating activity and the existence of Greek codices in twelfth-century Sicily, and thus judge it likely that our Latin *Elements* was born in this locale, the possible shape of our story gains further facets. To begin with, the translator probably first saw Sicilian soil when he sought out Aristippus and his precious Greek *Almagest* not much before 1160. Further, if we allow several years, as Haskins suggests, for the preliminary study of the minor Euclidean works and Proclus, thus placing the production of the Latin *Almagest* about 1165, it is unlikely that the translation of the *Elements* could have occurred before completion of the Ptolemy; if the *Elements* had been translated between approximately 1160 and 1165, one would expect it to number among the other treatises the translator mentions as the necessary prelude to his work on the *Almagest*.

Consequently, assuming the translation was composed in Sicily, we should probably place its composition after 1165. How much later, one has no way to say. Perhaps success with the *Almagest* stimulated the translator soon to attempt a similar feat with the *Elements*, whose contents he had known since the inception of his mathematical interests and studies. Again perhaps, then, his Greek-Latin Euclid was finished not much before (say) 1175.

Still retaining the hypothesis of Sicilian origin, we can build further conjectures and plot a course for the *Elements* not just related, but parallel, to that of the *Almagest*. It too, we might claim, was rendered from a Greek original — or from at least one Greek original — which found its way from Constantinople to Sicily in the twelfth century. For the Bodley manuscript employed by our translator has just such a Byzantine beginning. It was written, we know, by a certain Stephen in 888 A.D. and was purchased by Arethas, Archbishop of Caesarea, presumably shortly thereafter.<sup>97</sup> Arethas' library was not only one of the richest in tenth-century Byzantium, but one whose volumes' margins bear evidence of the care with which their owner studied and absorbed them.<sup>98</sup> His Euclid carries a variety of scholia and notations, even a copy of a mathematical lecture, in his own hand.<sup>99</sup> Probably, therefore, Arethas' text of the *Elements* was taken west, to Sicily we are supposing, sometime during the twelfth century<sup>100</sup> and there was turned into Latin for later, Greekless scholars.<sup>101</sup> This then was one fragment of the renaissance, the flow from East to West, of these times: Euclid's Greek, glossed by the hand of a Byzantine bishop with an amateur's taste for mathematics and translated by a medical scholar whose avocation for exact science drew him to Sicily, became the only complete Greek-Latin *Elements* of which we know.

#### Appendix I. Identification of the Twelfth-Century Greek-Latin *Elements*

In what follows, I have given, as Clagett did in his treatment of Arabic-Latin versions of the *Elements*,<sup>102</sup> the incipits and explicits of each of the Books (I–XIII and XV) of Euclid in our translation. Although the rigid adherence of this translation to the Greek text might seem to make it easily identifiable on this ground alone, the more precise information given below will enable one to distinguish it, or portions of it, from later, Renaissance versions of the *Elements* from

the Greek. Minor variants of the Florence MS are ignored, the text, therefore, being essentially that of BN 7373.

(*I, deff.*) [1] Punctus est cuius pars nulla. [2] Linea vero longitudo sine latitudine. [3] Linee autem termini puncta. Recta linea est que ex quo eis que in ipsa punctis iacet . . . [24] Parallile sunt recte que in eodem epipedo existentes et emisse in infinitum in utrasque partes in neutras concidunt sibi invicem.

(*I, post.*) [1] Petatur ab omni puncto in omne punctum lineam rectam ducere. [2] Et terminatam rectam in directo secundum continuum emittere . . . [5] Et si in duas rectas recta incidens interius et in eisdem partibus angulos duobus rectis minores facit, emissas duas rectas in infinitum [*sed del. punctis in alia manu?*] concidere alternis, quibus in partibus sunt duobus rectis minores anguli.

(*I, axioms*) [1] Eidem equalia et alternis sunt equalia. [2] Et si equalibus equalia apponantur, tota sunt equalia . . . [10] Et due recte spatium non continent.

(*I, 1*) Super datam rectam terminatam trigonum isopleurum constituere. (*Proof*) Esto data recta terminata AB. Oportet ergo super AB rectam trigonum isopleurum constituere . . . Et constitutum est super datam rectam terminatam AB.

(*I, 48*) Si trigoni quod a laterum uno tetragonum tetragonis equale fuerit que a reliquis trigoni duobus lateribus, que sub reliquis duobus trigoni lateribus angulus continetur rectus est. (*Proof*) Trigoni enim ABG quod ab uno latere BG tetragonum equale sit tetragonis que a lateribus BA et AG . . . Si ergo trigoni quod a laterum uno tetragonum equale fuerit eis que a reliquis duobus trigoni lateribus quadratis, qui sub reliquis duobus trigoni lateribus angulus continetur rectus est. Quod oportebat demonstrare.

(*II, deff.*) [1] Omne parallilogrammum orthogonium contineri dicitur sub duabus rectis continentibus angulum rectum. [2] Omnis vero parallilogrammi spatii eorum que circa diametrum ipsius parallilogrammi unum quodlibet cum duobus supplementis gnomon appellatur.

(*II, 1*) Si fuerint due recte, dividatur autem altera ipsarum in quotlibet portiones, quod sub eis duabus rectis orthogonium continetur equale est eis que et sub indivisa et unaquaque portionum continetur orthogoniis. (*Proof*) Sint due recte A, BG et dividatur BG, ut accidit, ad D et E puncta. Dico, quoniam quod sub A et BG continetur orthogonium equale est ei quod et sub A, BD . . . Quod ergo sub rectis A, BG equale est ei quod sub rectis A, BD et ei quod sub rectis A, DE et adhuc ei quod sub rectis A, EG. Si ergo fuerint due recte, et cetera.



(II, 14) Dato rectilineo equale tetragonum constituere. (*Proof*) Esto datum rectilineum A. Oportet ergo rectilineo A equale tetragonum constituere . . . Dato ergo rectilineo A equale tetragonum constitutum est quod ab ET describendum. Quod oportebat facere. (*Scholium*) Rursum pothen, quoniam non veniet per punctum G; et dicamus, quoniam et ita impossibile . . . Similiter ergo ostendemus, quoniam neque intus, quoniam multum inconvenientius. Exteriorius ergo veniet. Quod oportebat ostendere.

(III, *deff.*) [1] Equales circuli sunt quorum diametri equales vel quorum que e centris equales sunt. [2] Recte circulum contingere dicitur que contingens circulum et emissa non secat circulum . . . [11] Similes sectiones circulorum sunt que recipiunt equales angulos vel in quibus anguli equales sibi invicem sunt.

(III, 1) Dati circuli centrum invenire. (*Proof*) Esto datus circulus ABG. Oportet ergo circuli ABG centrum invenire. Protrahatur quedam in ipsum recta AB et dividatur in duo equalia secundum D punctum . . . Non ergo et centrum est ABG circuli. Similiter ergo ostendemus, quoniam neque aliud aliquid preter Z. Punctus ergo Z centrum est ABG circuli. (*Coroll.*) Ex hoc ergo manifestum, quoniam si in circulo recta aliqua rectam aliquam in duo equalia et ad rectos secat, in secante est centrum circuli.

(III, 37) Si quis extra circulum punctus sumatur, a puncto vero ad circulum accidant due recte, et hec quidem ipsarum secet circulum, illa vero accidat, fuerunt autem quod sub tota secante et ea que inter punctum et convexam periferiam extra deprehenditur equale ei quod ab accidente, accidens continget circulum. (*Proof*) Extra circulum enim ABG sumatur punctus aliquis D, et a puncto D ad circulum ABG accidant recte DGA, DB, et recta quidem DGA secet circulum, recta vero DB accidat, esto vero quod sub rectis AD, DG ei quod a recta DB . . . Similiter ergo ostendetur, et si centrum in recta AG contingat. Si quis ergo extra circulum, et cetera. Quod oportet ostendere.

(IV, *deff.*) [1] Figura rectilinea figure rectilinee inscribi dicitur, quando quisque inscripte figure angulorum unumquodque latus eius, cui inscribitur, contingit. [2] Figura vero similiter figure circumscribi dicitur, quando unumquodque latus circumscripse unumquemque angulum eius, cui circumscribitur, contingit. [7] Recta in circulo coaptari dicitur, quando termini ipsius in periferia circuli fuerint.

(IV, 1) In dato circulo date recte non maiori circuli diametro equalem rectam coaptare. (*Proof*) Esto datus circulus ABG, data vero recta non maior circuli diametro D. Oportet ergo in circulo recte D equalem rectam coaptare . . . In dato ergo circulo ABG date recte non maiori



existenti circuli diametro recte  $D$  equalis coaptata est recta  $GA$ . Quod oportet facere.

(*IV, 16*) Dato circulo quindecagonum et equilaterum et equiangulum inscribere. (*Proof*) Esto datus circulus  $ABGD$ . Oportet ergo intra datum circum  $ABGD$  quindecagonum et equilaterum et equiangulum describere . . . Amplius autem per similes eis que in pentagono demonstrationes et dato quindecagono quod equilaterum et equiangulum circum inscribemus et circumscribemus.

(*V, deff.*) [1] Pars est quantitas quantitatis minor maioris, quando ipsa maiorem metitur. [2] Multiplex autem maiorem minoris, quando ipsa metitur a minore . . . [19] Inordinata autem proportionalitas est, quando tribus existentibus quantitibus et aliis ipsis equalibus multitudine fiet ut in primis quidem quantitibus antecedens ad consequens, ita in secundis quantitibus antecedens ad consequens, ut autem in primis quantitibus consequens ad aliud quid, ita in secundis aliud quid ad antecedens.

(*V, 1*) Si fuerint quotcumque quantitates quotcumque quantatum equalium multitudine queque cuiusque eque multiplex, quam multiplex est una quantatum unius, tam multiplices erunt et omnes omnium. (*Proof*) Sint quotcumque quantitates  $AB$ ,  $GD$  quotcumque quantatum  $E$ ,  $Z$  equalium multitudine queque cuiusque eque multiplex . . . Quod multiplex ergo est quantitas  $AB$  quantitatis  $E$ , tam multiplices erunt et quantitates  $AB$ ,  $GD$  quantatum  $E$ ,  $Z$ . Si ergo fuerint quotlibet quantitates, et cetera. Quod oportebat ostendere.

(*V, 25*) Si quattuor quantitates proportionales fuerint, maxima ipsarum et minima duabus reliquis maiores sunt. (*Proof*) Sint quattuor quantitates proportionales  $AB$ ,  $GD$ ,  $E$ ,  $Z$ , ut  $AB$  ad  $GD$  ita  $E$  ad  $Z$ , esto vero maxima quidem ipsarum  $AB$ , minima vero  $Z$  . . . colligunt  $AB$ ,  $Z$  maiores eis que sunt  $GD$ ,  $E$ . Si ergo quattuor quantitates, et cetera. Quod oportebat ostendere.

(*VI, deff.*) [1] Similes figure rectilinee sunt, quotquot et angulos equales habent secundum unum et circa equales angulos latera proportionalia. [2] Contraria passe vero figure sunt, quando in utraque figurarum et antecedentes et consequentes termini fuerint . . . [5] Altitudo est omnis figure a vertice in basim cathetus ducta.

(*VI, 1*) Trigona et parallilogramma sub eadem altitudine existentia ad se invicem sunt ut bases. (*Proof*) Sint trigona quidem  $ABG$ ,  $AGD$ , parallilogramma vero  $EG$ ,  $GZ$  sub eadem altitudine existentia ab  $A$  in  $BD$  catheto ducta . . . et ut basis ergo  $BG$  ad basim  $GD$  ita  $EG$  parallilogrammum ad  $ZG$  parallilogrammum. Trigona ergo et parallilogramma, et cetera. Quod oportet ostendere.

(*VI, 33 = VI, 34 of Latin*) In equalibus circulis anguli eandem proportionem habent periferiis quibus insident sive ad centra sive ad periferias insederint. Amplius autem et sectores ad centra constituti. (*Proof*) Sint equales circuli ABG, DEZ, et ad centrum quidem ipsorum I, T anguli sint qui sub BIG, ETZ, ad periferias vero qui sub BAG, EDZ . . . (*Alt. dem.*) Aliter: Dico, quoniam et sicut BG periferia ad EZ periferiam, ita IBG sector ad TEZ sectorem . . . Est ergo ut BG periferia ad EZ, ita IBG sector ad TEZ sectorem. (*Coroll.*) Et manifestum, quoniam ut sector ad sectorem ita et angulus ad angulum. Quod oportebat ostendere.

(*VII, deff.*) [1] Unitas est secundum quod unumquodque entium unum dicitur. [2] Numerus vero ex unitatibus concreta multitudo . . . [22] Perfectus numerus est qui sui ipsius partibus equalis est.

(*VII, 1*) Si duorum numerorum inequalium expositorum ablato semper minori a maiore, reliquus nequaquam metitur eum qui ante ipsum, usque quo sumatur unitas, numeri qui e principio primi ad se invicem erunt. (*Proof*) Duorum enim inequalium numerorum AB et GD ablato semper minori a maiore reliquus nequaquam metiatur eum qui ante ipsum, quoad usque sumatur unitas . . . Non ergo numeros AB et GD metietur aliquis numerus. Numeri ergo AB et GD primi ad se invicem sunt. Quod oportet ostendere.

(*VII, 39 = VII, 41 of Latin*) Numerum invenire qui minimus existens habeat datas partes. (*Proof*) Sint date partes A, B, G. Oportet ergo numerum invenire qui minimus existens habeat A, B, G partes . . . Non ergo erunt aliquis numero I minor numerus qui habeat A, B, G partes. Quod oportebat ostendere.

(*VIII, 1*) Si fuerint quotcumque numeri continue proportionales, extremi vero ipsorum primi ad se invicem fuerint, minimi sunt eandem ipsis habentium proportionem. (*Proof*) Sint quotcumque numeri deinceps proportionales A, B, G, D, extremi vero ipsorum numeri A, D primi ad se invicem sint . . . Numeri ergo A, B, G, D minimi sunt eandem proportionem habentium ipsis. Quod oportebat ostendere.

(*VIII, 37*) Similes solidi numeri ad se invicem proportionem habent, quam cubus numerus ad cubum numerum. (*Proof*) Sint similes solidi numeri A, B. Dico, quoniam A ad B proportionem habet quam cubus numerus ad cubum numerum . . . Et A ergo ad B proportionem habet quam cubus numerus ad cubum numerum. Quod oportet ostendere.

(*IX, 1*) Si duo similes epipedi numeri multiplicantes se invicem fecerint aliquem, factus tetragonus erit. (*Proof*) Sint duo similes epipedi numeri A, B, et A numerus numerum B multiplicans faciat G. Dico, quoniam G tetragonus est . . . Quare et numeris D, G unus medius propor-

tionalis incidit numerus. Et est tetragonis D. Tetragonus ergo et G. Quod oportebat ostendere.

(IX, 36) Si ab unitate quotlibet numeri exponantur in dupla proportionalitate, usque quo ex universis compositus primus generetur, et compositus ex universis in extremum multiplicatus faciat aliquem, genitus perfectus erit. (*Proof*) Ab unitate enim exponantur quotcumque numeri in dupla proportionalitate usque quo compositus ex omnibus primus generetur . . . Perfectus autem numerus est qui suis partibus equalis est. Perfectus ergo est numerus ZI. Quod oportebat ostendere.

(X, *def.*) [1] Commensurabiles quantitates dicuntur quae eadem mensura mesurantur; incommensurabiles vero quarum nullam contingit communem mensuram fieri. [2] Recte potentia commensurabiles sunt, quando quae ab ipsis tetragona eodem spatio mesurantur; incommensurabiles autem, quando eis quae ab ipsis tetragonis nullum contingit spatium communem mensuram fieri . . . [4] Et quod quidem a proposita recta tetragonum rito, et quae huic eommensurabilia rita, quae vero eidem incommensurabilia aloga vocentur, et potentes ipsa vocentur aloge, si quidem tetragona fuerint, ipsa latera, si vero alia aliqua rectilinea, quae equalia ipsis describunt tetragona.

(X, 1) Duabus quantitatibus expositis inequalibus, si a maiore auferatur maius quam dimidium, et a reliquo maius quam dimidium et hoc semper fiat, sumetur quedam quantitas, quae est minor exposita minore quantitate. (*Proof*) Sint due quantitates inequales AB, G, quarum maior esto AB . . . Relicta est ergo a quantitate AB quantitas AK minor existens exposita minore quantitate G. Quod oportet ostendere. (*Coroll.*) Similiter autem demonstrabitur, etsi dimidia fuerint quae auferantur. (*Alt. dem.*) Adiaceant duo quantitates inequales AB, G . . . Quantitas ergo G maior est quantitate AD. Quod oportebat ostendere.

(X, 115 = X, 125 of Latin) A media infinite aloge fiunt, et nulla nulli priorum earum eadem. (*Proof*) Esto media recta A. Dico, quoniam a recta A infinite aloge fiunt, et nulla nulli priorum eadem . . . (*Alt. dem. I*) Aliter: Esto media AG. Dico, quoniam a recta AG infinite aloge fiunt et nulla nulli priorum eadem . . . (*Alt. dem. II*) Aliter: Quae cum rito medium totum facienti commensurabilis cum rito medium totum faciens est. Esto cum rito medium totum faciens recta A, commensurabilis autem ipsi recta B . . . Recta ergo B cum rito medium totum faciens est.

(*Additio* = X, 126 of Latin) Proponatur nobis demonstrare, quoniam in tetragonis figuris incommensurabilis est diametrum lateri longitudine. (*Proof*) Esto tetragonum ABGD, diametros autem ipsius AG. Dico, quoniam recta GA incommensurabilis est recte AB longitudine . . .

Par ergo propter ea que dicta sunt numerus I. Verum et impar. Quod est impossibile. Non ergo commensurabilis est recta GA recte AB longitudine. Incommensurabilis ergo numerus I.

(*Alt. dem. additionis prioris* = X, 127 of *Latin*) Demonstrandum vero et aliter quoniam incommensurabilis est tetragoni diametros lateri. (*Proof*) Esto enim pro diametro quidem recta A pro latere vero recta B . . . Non ergo commensurabilis est recta A recte B longitudine. Incommensurabilis ergo. (*Scholium*) Inventis ergo incommensurabilis longitudine rectis, ut rectis A, B, invenientur et alie plurime quantitates ex duabus distantis . . . Et manifestum nobis factum est, quoniam non solum in lineis et superficiebus est commensurabilitas et incommensurabilitas, sed et in solidis.

(XI, *deff.*) [1] Solidum est quod longitudinem et latitudinem et profunditatem habet. [2] Solidi vero terminus superficies. [3] Linea ad epipedum recta est, quando ad omnes contingentes ipsam rectas et existentes in subiacenti epipedo rectos facit angulos . . . [27] Dodecaedron est figura solida sub XII pentagonis equalibus et equilateris et equiangulis contenta. [28] Eikosaedron est figura solida sub XX trigonis equalibus et equilateris contenta.

(XI, 1) Recte lineae pars quidem quedam non est in subiacente epipedo, pars autem quedam in elevatori. (*Proof*) Si enim possibile, recte lineae ABG pars quidem quedam esto in subiacenti plano, que sit AB, pars autem alia, scilicet BG, in elevatori . . . Recte ergo lineae pars quidem non est in subiacenti epipedo, alia vero in elevatori. Quod oportet ostendere.

(XI, 39 = XI, 40 in *Latin*) Si sint duo seratila equalem habentia altitudinem et unum quidem habet basim parallilogrammum, alium vero trigonium, duplex autem parallilogrammum trigoni, equalia erunt seratila. (*Proof*) Sint duo seratila equalem habentia altitudinem ABGDEZ, ITKLMN, et unum habeat basim AZ parallilogrammum, alterum quoque ITK trigonum, duplex autem sit AZ parallilogrammum ITK trigoni . . . Si ergo duo sunt seratila equalem habentia altitudinem et unum habet basim parallilogrammum, et cetera.

(XII, 1) Que in circulis similia multi angula ad se invicem sunt sicut et a diametris tetragona. (*Proof*) Sint circuli ABGDE, ZITKL, et in ipsis similia multi angula sint ABGDE, ZITKL, diametri autem circulorum sint BN, IN . . . Qui ergo in circulis similia multiangula ad se invicem sunt sicut et que ad (*et sic capit finem prop.*)

(XII, 18) Spere ad se in (!) invicem in triplici proportionem sunt priorum diametrorum. (*Proof*) Intelligantur spere ABG, DEZ, diametri autem eorum A(!)BG, EZ. Dico, quoniam ABG spera ad DEZ speram triplicem proportionem habet quam BG ad EZ . . . Ostensum autem



est, quoniam nec ad minus. ABG ergo spera ad DEZ speram triplicem proportionem quam habet BG ad EZ. Quod oportebat ostendere.

(XIII, 1) Si recta linea extrema et media proportionem secetur, maior sectio recipiens medietatem totius quincuplum potest illius quod a medietate toti. (*Proof*) Recta linea AB extrema et media proportionem secatur secundum G punctum, et sit maior sectio AG, et exeat directe GA recta AD, et iaceat AB dimidia AD . . . Quod ergo a GD quincuplum est illi quod a DA. Si ergo recta extrema, et cetera. (*Analysis et synthesis*) Analysis est sumptio quesiti sicut concessi procedens per sequentia ad aliquid verum concessum . . . Subiecte diffinitiones magis congruunt latino idiomati: Analysis est eversa demonstratio concessi per quesitum . . . (*Anal.*) Recta enim quedam AB extrema et media proportionem secetur secundum G, et sit maior sectio AG, et medietati AB equalis adiaceat AD . . . (*Synth.*) Quoniam ergo quadruplum est quod a BA illius quod ab AD, set quod ab AB est quod sub BA, AG cum illo quod sub AG, BG . . . Quod oportet ostendere.

(XIII, 18) Latera quinque figurarum invenire et comparare ad invicem. (*Proof*) Iaceat date spere diameter AB, et secetur secundum G quidem ut equalis sit AG, GB . . . (*Alt. dem.*) Aliter, quoniam maior est MB, NB . . . Quare et tria que a ZB sex que a BN maiora sunt. Dico itaque, quoniam preter predictas quinque figuras non constituetur alia figura contenta sub equilateris et equiangularibus equalibus sibi invicem . . . Non ergo preter predictas figuras alia figura solida constituetur sub equilateris et equiangularibus contenta. (*Lemma*) Quoniam equilateri et sogonii(!) pentagoni angulus rectus est et quinte, sic ostendetur . . . Et totus ergo qui sub ABG pentagoni angulus unus rectus est et quinta. Quod oportebat ostendere.

(XIV not included in translation.)

(XV) Dato cubo pyramidem inscribere. Esto datus cubus ABGDEZIT, cui oportet pyramidem inscribere. Copulentur recte AG, AE, GE, AT, ET, TG . . . Quoniam enim KL cathetus maior est medietate recta ML, dictum est, ut in elementis coostensivum est hoc.

## Appendix II. Additiones Translationis

The two following lists relate to the presence or absence of Theonine additions and other supplementary material in this translation. The first list identifies such additions. Inasmuch as some Arabic-Latin versions of the *Elements* lack not only the Theonine additions, but occasionally genuine corollaries or lemmas, I have included the latter in the following list. The numbers appearing in the first column are those of the Latin version, not the Greek original. The second list



tabulates those *alterae demonstrationes* and additions that Heiberg has placed in appendices (and occasionally in the text itself) in volumes I–IV of Euclid’s *Opera omnia* and that are not contained in our translation. This supplementary section does not, of course, take into account the scholia of Heiberg’s volume V. Here the numbers in the first column refer to the Greek text. No account, save in a single instance, has been taken of Theonine variants within the body of proofs. Finally, except for the omissions indicated below, all definitions and propositions edited by Heiberg are included in our Latin version.

<i>Description</i>	<i>Location in Heiberg’s edition</i>
I, def. 19	I, 6, 1–2 <i>var. lect. ad loc.; translatio non habet</i> 6, 1–2.
I, ax. 4	I, 10, 6–7.
I, ax. 5	I, 11 <i>var. lect. post def. 4.</i>
I, axx. 6–7	I, 10, 8–9.
I, ax. 10	I, 10, 12.
II, 4 alt. dem.	I, 324, 1–326, 18.
II, 4 coroll.	I, 128, 14–16.
II, 14 scholium	V, 257, 22–258, 7.
III, 1 coroll.	I, 168, 12–15.
III, 7 additio	I, 326, 19–24.
III, 8 additio	I, 328, 2–6.
III, 9 alt. dem.	I, 328, 8–330, 3.
III, 10 alt. dem.	I, 330, 5–16.
III, 11 additio	I, 330, 17–332, 9.
III, 16 coroll.	I, 212, 9–14.
III, 31 alt. dem.	I, 332, 10–17.
III, 31 coroll.	I, 246, 3–7.
IV, 5 coroll.	I, 284, 9–20.
IV, 15 coroll.	I, 318, 2–11.
IV, 16 additio	I, 320, 14–26.
V, def. 4	<i>Alia def. in lect. var. ad</i> II, 2, 7.
V, def. 19	<i>Alia def. in lect. var. ad</i> II, 6, 11.
V, 4 additio	<i>Lect. var. ad</i> II, 16, 19.
V, 14 scholium	Not in Greek; see above, n.35.
V, 15 scholium	Not in Greek; see above, n.36.
V, 19 coroll.	II, 56, 2–4.
V, 19 alt. coroll.	II, 418, 2–11.
V, 22 additio	<i>Lect. var. ad</i> II, 60, 27.
V, 23 additio	<i>Lect. var. ad</i> II, 64, 17.

<i>Description</i>	<i>Location in Heiberg's edition</i>
VI, def. 3	II, 72, 13-15.
VI, 8 coroll.	II, 102, 23-26.
VI, 9 scholium	V, 338, 6-339, 3.
VI, 19 coroll.	II, 130, 9-15.
VI, 20 coroll.	II, 138, 11-16.
VI, 20 alt. coroll.	II, 138, 18-28.
VI, 20 alt. dem.	II, 418, 14-18.
VI, 23	Lemma post prop. 22; II, 144, 22-146, 7.
VI, 28 (= 27 Gk.) alt. dem.	II, 420, 20-422, 14.
VI, 31 (= 30 Gk.) alt. dem.	II, 422, 16-24.
VI, 32 (= 31 Gk.) alt. dem.	II, 424, 2-20.
VI, 34 (= 33 Gk.) alt. dem. et coroll.	II, 424, 22-428, 21.
VII, 2 coroll.	II, 194, 10-12.
VII, 3 coroll.	<i>Lect. var. ad</i> II, 198, 13, <i>leg. cum</i> MS V
VII, 20	Vulgo VII, 20; II, 428, 23-430, 17.
VII, 22	Vulgo VII, 22; II, 430, 19-432, 8.
VII, 33 (= 31 Gk.) alt. dem.	II, 432, 10-20.
VIII, 2 coroll.	II, 276, 6-9.
VIII, 11 scholium	V, 394, 17-19.
VIII, 12 scholium	V, 395, 8-16.
IX, 12 proof var.	Not in Greek; see above, n. 56.
IX, 19 rec. Theon.	<i>Vide lect. var ad</i> II, pp. 382-88.
X, def. 3 rec. Theon.	<i>Lect. var. ad</i> III, 2, 10, 14.
X, 1 coroll.	III, 6, 9-10.
X, 1 alt. dem.	III, 374, 2-376, 11.
X, 3 coroll.	III, 12, 7-10.
X, 4 coroll.	III, 16, 4-9.
X, 6 coroll.	III, 20, 15-22, 2.
X, 6 alt. dem.	III, 376, 12-378, 2.
X, 9 coroll.	III, 28, 14-30, 18.
X, 9 lemma	III, 30, 20-32, 3.
X, 9 alt. dem.	III, 378, 3-380, 21.
X, 13 (= lemma post X, 12 Gk.)	Vulgo X, 13; III, 382, 6-13.
X, 15 (= lemma post X, 13 Gk.)	III, 38, 20-40, 14.
X, 18 (= lemma post X, 16 Gk.)	III, 46, 22-48, 9.

<i>Description</i>	<i>Location in Heiberg's edition</i>
X, 21 lemma I post (= lemma post X, 18 Gk.)	III, 56, 14-58, 3.
X, 21 lemma II post (= alt. lemma post X, 18 Gk.)	III, 382, 14-384, 9.
X, 24 (= lemma ad X, 20 Gk.)	III, 384, 11-17.
X, 26 (= lemma post X, 21 Gk.)	III, 62, 10-64, 3.
X, 28 (= 23 Gk.) coroll.	III, 68, 11-14.
X, 28 (= 23 Gk.) lemma post	III, 68, 15-23.
X, 28 (= 23 Gk.) alt. coroll.	III, 384, 18-386, 12.
X, 34 (= lemma I post X, 28 Gk.)	III, 80, 14-82, 10.
X, 35 (= lemma II post X, 28 Gk.)	III, 82, 12-86, 7.
X, 39 lemma post (= lemma post X, 32 Gk.)	III, 96, 10-98, 15.
X, 39 alt. lemma post (= alt. lemma II post X, 32 Gk.)	III, 392, 8-13.
X, 48 lemma post (= lemma post X, 41 Gk.)	III, 118, 20-120, 19.
X, deff. alt. additio	III, 400, 1-13.
X, 60 lemma post (= lemma post X, 53 Gk.)	III, 156, 16-158, 16.
X, 67 (= lemma post X, 59 Gk.)	III, 180, 9-24.
X, 81 (= additio post X, 72 Gk.)	III, 222, 9-224, 4.
X, 99 (= 90 Gk.) additio	III, 400, 14-402, 4.
X, 121 (= coroll. post X, 111 Gk.)	III, 352, 18-356, 7.
X, 124 (= 114 Gk.) coroll.	III, 370, 2-4.
X, 125 (= 115 Gk.) alt. dem.	III, 402, 5-21.
X, 125 additio (= alt. dem. X, 106 Gk.)	III, 406, 2-21.
X, 126 (= additio no. 27)	III, 408, 2-410, 16.
X, 127 (= alt. dem. ad addit. no. 27)	III, 410, 18-412, 19.

<i>Description</i>	<i>Location in Heiberg's edition</i>
X, 127 scholium (= additio no. 28)	III, 412, 21-416, 5.
XI, 23 additio	IV, 348, 1-352, 29.
XI, 23 lemma post	IV, 68, 19-70, 13.
XI, 33 coroll.	IV, 104, 28-106, 4.
XI, 35 coroll.	IV, 122, 21-26.
XI, 38	Vulgo XI, 38; IV, 354, 1-22.
XII, 2 lemma post	IV, 148, 4-19.
XII, 4 alt. dem.	IV, 356, 1-358, 13 (pro IV, 160, 13- 162, 14).
XII, 4 lemma post	IV, 162, 16-164, 13.
XII, 7 coroll.	IV, 176, 8-13.
XII, 7 coroll. additio	Not in Greek; see above, n.34.
XII, 8 coroll.	IV, 180, 5-23.
XII, 17 alt. dem.	IV, 358, 14-360, 13.
XII, 17 coroll.	IV, 240, 11-242, 12.
XIII, 1 anal. & synth.	IV, 364, 18-366, 2; 366, 5-368, 14.
XIII, 2 anal. & synth.	IV, 368, 17-370, 27.
XIII, 2 lemma post	IV, 254, 2-14.
XIII, 3 anal. & synth.	IV, 372, 3-22.
XIII, 4 anal. & synth.	IV, 372, 25-374, 20.
XIII, 5 anal. & synth.	IV, 374, 23-376, 22.
XIII, 13 lemma post	IV, 294, 10-296, 2.
XIII, 16 coroll.	IV, 316, 2-7.
XIII, 17 coroll.	IV, 328, 2-4.
XIII, 18 alt. dem.	IV, 378, 9-380, 10.
XIII, 18 additio	IV, 336, 15-338, 15.
XIII, 18 lemma post	IV, 338, 17-340, 7.

### *Omissions of Latin Translation*

I, 15 coroll.	I, 42, 2-4.
V, add. def. post def. 7	<i>Lect. var.</i> II, 4, 4.
V, 7 coroll.	II, 24, 11-12 ( <i>sed habet pro illo</i> V, 4 additio).
VII, 39 scholium	II, 432, 21-434, 17.
IX, scholium ad init.	II, 434, 19-436, 6.
IX, 22 alt. dem.	II, 436, 9-15.
X, 10 scholium	III, 380, 22-382, 2.
X, 27 lemma post	III, 386, 13-388, 5.
X, 29 lemma post	III, 388, 6-17.



*Omissions of Latin Translation*

X, 31 lemma post	III, 388, 18-390, 9.
X, 32 lemma post	III, 390, 10-392, 7.
X, 33 lemma post	III, 392, 15-394, 7.
X, 34 lemma post	III, 394, 9-25.
X, 36 additio	III, 396, 1-3.
X, 37 additio	III, 396, 4-5.
X, 38 additio	III, 396, 6-12.
X, 39 additio	III, 396, 13-398, 13.
X, 40 additio	III, 398, 14-16.
X, 41 additio	III, 398, 17-19.
X, 105 alt. dem.	III, 404, 1-20.
XI, 22 alt. dem.	IV, 344, 1-346, 22.
XIII, 5 alt. dem.	IV, 362, 15-364, 16.
XIII, 6 additio	IV, 360, 14-362, 14.
XIII, 17 additio	IV, 376, 23-378, 8.

Appendix III. The Compendium of Books XIV-XV of  
the *Elements*

Though less significant than the integral version of Books I-XIII and XV made directly from the Greek, this epitome (in BN 7373 only, fols. 167v-172v) of the two spurious, final Books of the *Elements* carries considerable interest and presents an essentially separate problem.

If we ignore this problem for a moment and turn to what is immediately apparent, we can state that the compendium was probably based upon a Greek original, even though, as we shall see, its compiler was already aware of at least one Latin translation of his subject made from the Arabic.<sup>103</sup> Greek derivation seems probable in light not only of the frequent Grecisms and the Greek order for figure-lettering, but also in view of a reference to the "Arabic translators" of the Books XIV and XV that one finds in the preface to the first of these Books,<sup>104</sup> suggesting that the translator of the epitome was not part of such a circle of toilers in the medieval transmission of the *Elements*. Since, however, the shortened version of these two Books is naturally not a *de verbo ad verbum* rendering of what we have in Greek manuscripts, there is no way definitely to connect it with, or to dissociate it from, our faithful Greek-Latin rendition of the bulk of the *Elements*.<sup>105</sup>

The abbreviated contents cover the whole of Book XIV and reach through the "propositions" of Book XV, omitting the appended matter in Greek texts of the latter.<sup>106</sup> The abbreviation that these Books suffer carries with it, moreover, an occasional variation from the procedures and specifications of the more complete Greek base,<sup>107</sup> a feature whose prime example will presently receive further attention.

Yet, before following this further, mention should be made of perhaps the most interesting facet of the compendium: its preface. Though the Greek text itself carries a prefatory statement to Book XIV, the introductory passage of the Latin paraphrase (reproduced at the conclusion of this Appendix) only partially follows it, and does so with considerable confusion.<sup>108</sup> It admits that the author of the contents of Book XIV is one Acefalus (the Greek Hypsicles), as the Arabic tradition of the *Elements* also recognized,<sup>109</sup> but veers far from its Greek source in transforming Basileides of Tyre and his mathematical adventures at Alexandria into Archimedes.<sup>110</sup> Thus, it is the great mathematician of Syracuse who is supposed to have come upon Apollonius' work treating of the relations of regular solids inscribed in a sphere, a subject central to Book XIV. After this, our preface breaks completely with the Greek original. Though its subsequent statements are ambiguous, and even possibly corrupt, our Latin proem's closing lines emphasize the importance of proper order and criticize the "Arabic translators" for having badly comprehended this sequence. It is of great consequence, our paraphraser seems to be urging, to set down all lemmas and other requisite materials in their appropriate places. An occasional remark within the body of his epitome bears this out.<sup>111</sup> More intriguing — and here lies the problem of the shortened XIV–XV — is his rebuke of one or more Arabic versions of the *Elements*. They have taken something from Hypsicles (Acefalus again), he complains, and have erroneously placed it at the beginning of Book XV. But we know better, he continues, for this matter properly belongs at the beginning of Book XIV. Two questions remain unanswered. Does he have in mind an Arabic translation of the *Elements*, or a Latin translation from the Arabic? Secondly, what is it that these "Arabic translations" have so wrongly misplaced?

A definite answer to the first problem does not seem possible; the Arabic texts of the *Elements* which we do possess are not adequate. However, though we do have copies of the so-called Ishāq ibn Hunain-Thabit ibn Qurra version of Euclid,<sup>112</sup> the Gerard of Cremona Latin translation apparently based upon it does not seem to contain the confusion the paraphraser refers to. On the other hand, though we have

not uncovered any manuscripts of the Al-Hajjāj Arabic text of the *Elements*,<sup>113</sup> the Adelard of Bath Latin translation presumably based upon it does contain, as we shall see, the confusion in question. Thus, although the paraphraser might have had Al-Hajjāj's Arabic in mind when voicing his criticism, all can be explained if we merely assume that he meant to correct an error found in Adelard's translation from the Arabic.

The key to the second question — that of the identity of geometrical matter wrongly transferred to Book XV by the Arabs — can be found precisely where our paraphraser has indicated: at the beginning of Book XIV of his compendium, its first proposition. This proposition, not part of the Greek text of Book XIV, asserts that, if we divide the side of a regular hexagon inscribed in a circle into extreme and mean ratio, its greater part will be the side of the regular decagon inscribed in the same circle.<sup>114</sup> The paraphraser did not err in prefixing this proposition, though absent from the Greek text,<sup>115</sup> to the beginning of his compendium. It allows of a less complicated proof, for example, of a subsequent proposition: That, given a dodecahedron and an icosahedron inscribed in the same sphere, a single circle circumscribes both the pentagon and the triangle which are, respectively, the faces of these polyhedra. If one works from Euclid's Greek alone, one previous proposition and the converse of another (not explicitly stated in Euclid) are needed to prove this proposition; the epitome permits a more direct procedure.<sup>116</sup>

To show that this initial proposition of the epitome is what concerned our paraphraser in his preface, we must find it misplaced in some "Arabic" *Elements*; that is, at the beginning of Book XV rather than at the beginning of Book XIV. Though I have not been able to do precisely this, it is possible to come extremely close: the theorem appears at the very end of Book XIV in all three Latin translations of the *Elements* supposedly prepared by Adelard of Bath.<sup>117</sup> Thus, it here immediately precedes the first proposition of Book XV and it is this "error of order," I suggest, which the paraphraser had in mind.<sup>118</sup> The other Arabic-Latin translation of the *Elements*, by Gerard of Cremona, does not append the theorem to Book XIV; but contains it as XIV,3 and properly employs it in the proof of the proposition (XIV,4 in Gerard) about similarly circumscribed dodecahedra and icosahedra referred to above.<sup>119</sup> Thus, Gerard is not guilty of the mistaken ordering. Curiously, Campanus of Novara, who almost always follows the enunciations and ordering of the Adelard tradition, sides with Gerard at this point. As is his custom, he borrows Adelard's translation of the

added theorem, but places it with Gerard as the third proposition of Book XIV.<sup>120</sup> In conclusion, then, if Gerard and Campanus understood the logical sequence of this first spurious Book more clearly than did Adelard of Bath, so too our paraphraser should be given credit for his methodological acumen.

The incipit and explicit of the compendium are, including the division between Books XIV and XV which are passed over without a break,<sup>121</sup> as follows:

(*Proemium*) Acefalus in commento super Euclidem de Archimede Siro scribit: Dum esset Alexandriae in studio, forte ad manus eius pervenisse duos Apollonii libros de habitudine figurarum ad invicem in eadem spera constructarum [constructarunt *MS*], quos cum summo affectu pertractaret. In secundo tandem, qui videlicet diligentius examinatus erat, visus est sibi totum Euclidis deprehendisse propositum in relatione rerum ad invicem mutueque habitudinis consideratione. Restat itaque nobis, quoniam precedentia manifesta sunt, eam deinceps habitudinem speculari que inter solida [solidum *MS*] duo in eadem spera constructa semper [super *MS*] est, quorum alterum, scilicet XX basium triangularum, alterum XII basium pentagonarum, ad quam gradatim quodam modo pervenire oportet, post missis videlicet quorum ordo viam quo intendimus paret. Ac primum quidem id quod arabici translatores (!) ex Acefalo sumptum in ipsa Euclidis (!) serie in principio XV<sup>1</sup> libri interserunt, nos neque ad ipsum pretermittimus ne quid necessarium desit, set, ut demonstrationis ordo postulat, visum est potius ab eo XIII libri primordium sumendum.

(*Prop. 1*) Latus exagonici si <pro>portione medii et extremorum dividatur, pars maior est latus decagonici. (*Proof*) Sic AB latere exagonico proportionem medii et extremorum dividatur . . . Unde BG latus decagonicum.

(*Prop. 12 = Bk. XIV, Heib. V, pp. 32-34*) Quicquid enim accidit cuicunque lineae proportionem medii et extremorum divise, idem accidit omni lineae similiter divise. (*Proof*) Lineae quidem AB proportionem medii et extremorum divisa, cuius pars maior AG . . . erit nimirum quae proportio harum linearum eadem solidi XII basium pentagonarum ad solidum XX basium triangularum.

(*Prop. 13 = XV, 1*) In assignato cubo construimus solidum IIII basium triangularum equilaterum. (*Proof*) In cubo videlicet ABGDEPZH applicabit eum . . . sicque solidum cui basis triangula AGZ sumitas punctum E IIII basium triangularum equilaterum.



(*Prop. 17 = XV, 5*) In designato solido XX basium triangularum equilatero construimus solidum XII basium pentagonarum equilaterum. (*Proof*) In solido quidem ABGDEOZHTIKL XX triangularum . . . inter que linee recte continuate solidum XII basium pentagonarum equilaterum absolvunt in solido XX basium triangularum equilatero.

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## NOTES

I should like to thank the American Council of Learned Societies for financial assistance which aided further study of the first, Parisian manuscript of this translation in 1961 and made possible the discovery of its second, Florentine copy in February 1962.

1. Euclides, *Opera omnia*, eds. J. L. Heiberg and H. Menge (Leipzig 1883-1916), vol. VII, pp. xxvii-xl, li-liii, 3-121 (where the Greek-Latin translation of the *Optica* is edited) and Axel Anthon Björnbo, "Die mittelalterlichen lateinischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen auf dem Gebiete der mathematischen Wissenschaften," *Festschrift Moritz Cantor* (Leipzig 1909) 98.

2. The literature dealing with these "Boethian" versions and with Greek elements in the Arabic-Latin tradition is considerable. See, for example, the following: Hermann Weissenborn, "Die Boetius-Frage," *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Mathematik*, Heft 2 (1879) 187-240; Maximilian Curtze, rev. of Weissenborn's "Die Übersetzung des Euklid aus dem Arabischen in das Lateinische durch Adelhard von Bath," *Abhandlungen zur Gesch. d. Math.*, Heft 3 (1880) 141-66 in *Philologische Rundschau*, vol. 1 (1881) cols. 943-50; J. L. Heiberg, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mathematik im Mittelalter," *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik*, Hist.-lit. Abteilung, 35 (1890) 48-58, 81-100; N. Bubnov, *Gerberti . . . Opera mathematica* (Berlin 1899) pp. 161-96; C. Thulin, *Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des Corpus agrimensorum* (Göteborg 1911). An excellent analysis of a twelfth-century "Adelard-Boethian mélanges" version of the *Elements* (MS BN 10257) and of the early medieval history of Euclid as a whole can be found in the unpublished dissertation of George David Goldat, *The Early Medieval Traditions of Euclid's Elements* (University of Wisconsin 1956).

3. The basic article is Marshall Clagett, "The Medieval Latin Translations from the Arabic of the *Elements* of Euclid, with Special Emphasis on the Versions of Adelard of Bath," *Isis* 44 (1953) 16-42.

4. This epitome of these two spurious books is, since it is distinct from the main translation under investigation, discussed in Appendix III below.

5. euclides princeps geometrice facultatis  
aristotiles logice et philosophie totalis  
boecius arismetice, tullius rectorice.

6. Ego Johannes de ripis (*scr. deripis*) emi istum euclidis librum barchinone a quodam sacerdote, precio decem florenorum, anno a nativitate domini 1441,



fol. lv, the remainder of which is blank. Chevalier (*Répertoire des sources historiques du Moyen Age. Bibliographie* (Paris 1905-7) col. 2480) lists a Jean de Ripis as a fifteenth-century Italian Augustinian, but his reference (J. F. Ossinger, *Bibliotheca Augustiniana*, p. 749) was not available to me.

7. I am indebted to Mlle. Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny and M. Guy Beaujouan for confirmation of the date and specification of the possible locale of the hand. Should the hand be that of a Spanish scribe, the date might be placed slightly later in the thirteenth century. One should also note that mathematical codices are frequently on the "conservative" side in the hands they exhibit. The "basic hand" occupies fols. 3r-136r (or possibly 139r) and 173-175v.

8. I must thank Dr. E. Shoufani for a transcription of both this, and the following, Hebrew passage, and Professor Harry Wolfson for suggestions in unraveling at least part of the inscription. The illegible condition of these inscriptions—as well as the scratching out of one of the lines (that bearing the date referred to below) renders good portions of this reading conjectural. For example, the words translated as "Gil learned very well" might possibly be but a Hebrew transliteration of the Latin "geometria." Folio 178v contains no other writing in addition to the medieval Hebrew here discussed, save the name 'Euclides.'

9. Save for this single Roman numeral, the tables are written in "modern" Arabic numerals (to be distinguished from both the familiar Hindu-Arabic numerals and from the "old" Arabic numerals employing letters of the Arabic alphabet).

10. For example, "gloriosa memorabilis et jocunda virtus constantia prudentia angelorum virtus ac pietas . . ." and "megolozomor gramazai sierogomos letemiel lathar lathalasso vadamazi zinocopos . . ."

11. We can, moreover, infer that the first two folios were added at a later date on the basis of quaternion numeration within the body of the manuscript itself. Beginning on 9v we find Roman numerals indicating the quaternia at every eight folios (on 17v, 25v, etc.). This continues through folio 121v, where later cropping of the codex has apparently cut the remaining numerals away. Consequently, each quaternion being of eight leaves, the present 9r-v is the original 8r-v, from which it follows that the present 2r-v containing the Adelardian definitions, etc., replaced the first original leaf, while that (1r-v) now bearing the verse and indication of ownership most likely supplements the codex as initially written. This would also suggest the possible later addition of one or more leaves at the end of the codex, since the pattern of quaternion numeration would indicate 177 (and not the present 178) as the final leaf.

For the appellation "Adelard II" see Clagett (above, n.3) pp. 20-23. However, the definitions, postulates, common notions, and enunciations of propositions found in Adelard II were also used in other versions, notably in the almost "standard" version by Campanus of Novara. Thus a copy of Campanus could also have been the source for the added leaf.

12. After partial analysis of this BN MS, I came upon the following, which, I feel, may not even be speaking of the same codex: Björnbo (above, n.1) p. 98: "In den Codd. Paris. 16646 and 16648 (beide vom 13. Jahrh.) und dem Cod. Paris. 7373 (aus dem 15. Jahrh.) finden sich Athelard-Übersetzungen, welche von der direkten Übersetzung [i.e., by a translation which Björnbo has just noted and which he believed, erroneously, to be based merely on the Greek]

sehr stark beeinflusst sind." But our codex, BN 7373, could as a whole by no stretch of the imagination be dated as fifteenth century, nor could a translation of which one folio is Adelard and 167 folios are derived from a pure Greek text be properly viewed as an Adelard version "sehr stark beeinflusst" by Greek elements. Because of this it is even possible that Björnbo's text might contain a misprint and that he had another neighboring BN number (many of which are copies of Euclid's *Elements*) in mind. Perhaps he intended BN 7374, which does include a "variant" Adelard II version (cf. Clagett [above, n.3] p. 29, n.31), though even this codex would be difficult — though less so — to judge as belonging to the fifteenth century.

The "direct translation" mentioned by Björnbo is in fact a multiplicity of versions. For he refers to various, since distinguished (cf. Bubnov and Thulin, above, n.2), "Boethian" manuscripts, as well as the Boethian-Adelardian *mélanges* referred to in note 2 above. The other two codices mentioned together with our manuscript are the translation by Hermann of Carinthia (BN 16646) and the version now labeled Adelard III (BN 16648); cf. Clagett (above, n.3) pp. 26-27, 23-25 respectively.

13. If we disregard the hands for (1) the Adelard insert, (2) the Adelard suprascription of the enunciation for I, 1, and (3) the two hands employed in the paraphrase of Books XIV-XV on fols. 167v-172v, we can distinguish at least two hands: (1) 3r-139v, 173r-175v (the "basic hand"), with a possible change of hand, or slight change of style by the scribe, on 136r-139v; (2) 140r-167v, the "artificial humanist" hand, with, once again, a slight change of hand or style for 147v-167v.

14. See above, n.9.

15. Some 83 of the 168 folios contain marginalia, but almost all are brief and unimportant. Suprascript, interlinear insertions in the text also indicate earlier propositions employed for I, 5-II, 7 (3v-16r).

16. More exactly, through J. L. Heiberg's edition of Euclid's *Opera omnia* (Leipzig 1888-1916) vol. III, p. 138, line 10. Hereafter, reference to this standard edition of the Greek text will be abbreviated as, to use the present example, Heib. III, 138, 10.

17. In the proof of IX, 34 (Heib. II, 404, 14 and *lect. var.*; BN 7373, 78v) εἰ γὰρ οὐ, καταντήσομεν εἰς τινα ἀριθμὸν περισσόν . . . is rendered by "si enim non, inciderimus katantHsomen in aliquem numerum imparem" and the Florence MS does exactly the same; furthermore, a few words later, both simply translate καταντήσομεν by "incidemus," without transliteration of the Greek.

18. The evidence presented in, and for, almost all of what follows was drawn from an examination of the Paris codex. It was only after pertinent notes were taken, based on this manuscript, that the Florence copy was discovered. Though since microfilmed, the latter was only briefly examined personally.

19. Charles Horner Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Cambridge, Mass., 1924) p. 151 n.36.

20. Thus, in the proof of II, 14 (Heib. I, 162, 12-14) τὸ ἄρα ΒΔ παραλληλόγραμμον ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ΘΕ τετράγωνῳ is translated by "Parallilogrammum ergo BD equale est ei quod a recta TE tetragono" (19r). For the repeated use of the second manner of filling in the Greek article, see the transcription of I, 1 which follows.

21. The last phrase of Book XV (Heib. V, 66, 16) *ὡς ἐν τοῖς στοιχείοις συναποδέδεικται τοῦτο* is rendered by "ut in elementis coostensivum est hoc" (175v; all folio indications for our translations are to BN 7373).

22. I have used Heiberg's variants when it seemed probable that our translator was following such a text.

23. To cite several additional examples: *πόθεν*=pothen, *ἀπόδειξεν*=apodriim!, *προχωρήσει*=prochorisei (and also translated as procedet), *πρὸς ἄλλο τι*=ad aliud quid, *ῥητόν*=riton, *ἄλογα*=aloga, *ἐπίπεδος*=epipedos, *στερεὸς ἀριθμός*=stereos numerus, *συναμφότερον*=couterumque, *συναποδέδεικται*=coostensivum est. Rendition of "H" by "I" is extended to words as well as lettering; hence, *παράλληλόγραμμον*=parallilogrammum.

24. Haskins (above, n.19) p. 150.

25. For information concerning Theon's redaction see Heiberg's edition of Euclid's *Opera omnia*, vol. V, pp. xxiv-xciii, or Thomas L. Heath's account (based on Heiberg) in his translation of Euclid's *Elements* (repr. New York 1956) vol. 1, pp. 46-63.

26. A provisional list of these differences is given in Appendix II below.

27. Such changes often seem to have resulted from the inadvertent omission of a particle or simply to have been dictated by the sense of the text. For example, the translation omits the unnecessary *ἄρα* with P — Heiberg's siglum for the Greek manuscript closest to the pristine Euclid — in the proof of XI, 6 (Heib. IV, 20, 10); it omits, again with P, *παράλληλόγραμμον* in XI, 33 (Heib. IV, 102, 24); and in the Theonine porism following II, 4 'Εκ δὲ τοῦτου φανερόν (Heib. I, 128, 14) is rendered by "Ex his ergo manifestum," which suggests the marginal version of P with *τούτων*.

28. Cf. Heath (above, n.25) vol. 3, pp. 272-74 for these general difficulties.

29. For the version of P: Heib. IV, 8, 20-22; for the Theonine version: Heiberg's variant *ad loc.* Our translation follows P with "Quoniam si centro B et spatio AB circulum sumpserimus [*read scripserimus* (=γράφωμεν)] diametri inequales assumunt circuli periferias" (125r).

30. Heib. V, p. liii: "scriptura codicis P etiam in quosdam codd. Theoninos irrepsit," though he does not indicate which.

31. J. L. Heiberg, "Paralipomena zu Euklid," *Hermes* 38 (1903) 65, 70, 71, 187, 189 (where three MSS, otherwise largely or partially Theonine, read with P and two have both P and Theonine readings). Heiberg published his text of XI, 1 in 1885 (when he recorded no Theonine MS with P's reading), claimed that such did exist (above, n.30) in 1888, and specified such MSS — as far as I know — only in 1903. Perhaps yet other Theonine MSS carry a similar reading, nor is it certain that Heiberg had the 1903 codices in mind in 1888.

32. To propositions II, 14; V, 19; VI, 19; VIII, 11; VIII, 12; X, 115. For further identification see Appendix II below.

33. There may be, of course, yet other "non-Greek" additions — for example, brief phrases added in apposition (one of which I have noticed) — which may become apparent upon complete transcription of the text.

34. Est etiam [*est scr. et del.*] manifestum, quoniam si corpus aliquid habeat aliam aliquam figuram basem et aliam in opposito eequalem et <e>quidistantem basim et similem ita quod trianguli basis(!) sint in directo suorum similium plani oppositi, illud corpus dividitur in prismata habencia bases triangulas in illis planis oppositis (144v). It is interesting to note that, in this addition and in



the corollary to which it is attached, the usual (both adjectival and substantive) *trigonum* becomes *triangulum*.

35. Si sint quantitates non eiusdem generis — ut si A, B sint lineae, D, G vero periferie vel corpora vel numeri — locum non habet theorema, sed nec fieri potest demonstratio, nec enim maior aut minor aut equalis debet dici linea numero, et in aliis similiter; non enim comparantur sibi invicem quantitates que diversorum generum sunt. Ut intelligas istud, cave in multis aliis theorematibus, maxime in hoc libro (40r). Though the frequency of similar remarks in the Latin Middle Ages makes it sound more “medieval,” as I have mentioned, than other, definitely Greek-based, additions in our text, awareness of this required homogeneity for the magnitudes falling within the scope of Book V can also be found in, for example, Hero of Alexandria (*Opera omnia*, ed. Heiberg [Leipzig 1912] vol. IV, p. 78) and Greek scholia (Euclid, *Opera omnia*, ed. Heiberg, vol. V, Scholia 23, 72 etc.). That similar considerations were common in the Arabic study of Euclid can be seen from Al-Nairīzī’s commentary on the *Elements* (Euclid, *Opera omnia, Supplementum*, ed. M. Curtze [Leipzig 1899] 158, 162).

36. Nec [MS. BN 7373 Hec.] propositio(?) nec demonstratio(?) locum habet nisi in quantitibus eiusdem generis (40r). This should be compared to Scholium no. 72 to V, 15 (Heib. V, 311, 2), which simply reads: *Ἐπὶ μόνων ὁμογενῶν*.

37. Nota hoc diligenter ex quo habes, quod proportio non est habitudo quantitatum duarum unius generis large sumendo ‘genus’ sive predicamentaliter, set vult quod solum lineae recte omnes ad invicem sunt unius generis et curvae alterius et numeri alterius generis; et tamen tam lineae recte quam curvae numeri omnia sunt in genere quantitatis, ut est predicamentum (40r). This marginal note is a fourteenth-century addition to BN 7373 and, unlike the other two scholia to V, 14 and V, 15, does not appear in our second MS, Fir. Naz. C I 448. The note is another indication that BN 7373 was the subject of later study or perusal; marginalia occurring only in Fir. Naz. C I 448 relevant to the definitions of Books V and X furnish an analogous indication for that codex.

38. Heiberg does not consider these interesting supplements part of the pristine text of the *Elements* and relegates them to an appendix (Heib. IV, 364, 17–376, 22). Our translation (155r–158r) gives each of these additions in proper order following the proposition to which they pertain and marginally announces them (save for XIII, 4) by “analysis” or “sintesis.”

39. See below, n.49, for an explanation of the difference in numbering.

40. Si riton iuxta riton adiungatur, latitudinem facit ritin et commensurabilem longitudinem ei cui adiacet (87v; cf. Heib. III, 58, 20–22).

41. Si recte riti adiungatur latitudo riti, facit ritin et commensurabilem longitudine ei cui adiacet (87v). The first sentence of the proof which follows also contains variations not precisely matchable with the Greek: Riti enim latitudo AG recte AB secundum aliquem rursum dictorum modorum riti adiaceat faciens rectam BG (87v; cf. Heib. III, 60, 1–3).

42. Thus, not from any of the three Adelardian versions nor from those of Gerard of Cremona, Hermann of Carinthia, Campanus of Novara, or the so-called Boethian-Adelardian *mélanges* (see Clagett [above, n.3] for the identification of these translations). As we should, of course, expect, the first enunciation is also not found among these members of the Arabic-Latin tradition.

43. Following his usual "I" for "H" in transliterated Greek terms, he could easily have made this exact translation begin with "Si riton iuxta ritin" (paralleling the succeeding "ritin" that he does use) rather than with the "Si riton iuxta riton" that our codices give. Though such an alternative would have preserved the Greek distinction of gender and allowed of the inference that an area was being applied to a line, he still may have felt that it asked too much of the medieval scholar of Euclid. Be this as it may, the fact that he allows similar ambiguity in the Greek in other propositions shows that he was not consistent in such a possible doubt of his readers' ability.

44. This required "area" would be understood as a matter of course and would not border on ambiguity. For, of those rational entities capable of application in Euclid, only an area would have breadth.

45. Once again, "straight line" is understood, not on grounds of the feminine gender of "ritin," but because only lines can be commensurable in length.

46. Text in n.41 above.

47. Here again it is the "breadth of a rational [area]," not, as in the Greek, the area itself, which is applied (cf. text in n.41).

48. The Florence manuscript of our text follows the order and reading of BN 7373 in every detail. In terms of the two extant codices, no scribal error or insertion of marginalia can be inferred at this point.

49. Books I-V, VIII-IX, XII-XIII contain the same number of propositions as the Greek (though a later "numerator" has skipped two digits and mis-numbered III, 32 as III, 34, making Book III appear to contain 39, and not the usual 37, propositions). Of the remaining books, VI has 34 propositions (the Greek has 33), VII has 41 (Greek, 39), X has 127 (Greek, 115), and XI has 40 (Greek, 39). The interpolated additions are as follows:

<i>Latin translation</i>	<i>Identification in Heiberg's edition of Greek</i>
VI, 23	Lemma post VI, 22 (Heib. II, 144, 22-146, 7)
VII, 20	Vulgo VII, 20 (Heib. II, 428, 23-430, 17)
VII, 22	Vulgo VII, 22 (Heib. II, 430, 19-432, 8)
X, 13	Vulgo X, 13 (Heib. III, 382, 6-13)
X, 15	Lemma post X, 13 (Heib. III, 38, 20-40, 14)
X, 18	Lemma post X, 16 (Heib. III, 46, 22-48, 9)
X, 24	Lemma ad X, 20 (Heib. III, 384, 11-17)
X, 26	Lemma post X, 21 (Heib. III, 62, 10-64, 3)
X, 34	Lemma I post X, 28 (Heib. III, 80, 14-82, 10)
X, 35	Lemma II post X, 28 (Heib. III, 82, 12-86, 7)
X, 67	Lemma post X, 59 (Heib. III, 180, 9-24)
X, 81	Additio post X, 72 (Heib. III, 222, 9-224, 4)
X, 121	Porisma post X, 111 (Heib. III, 352, 18-356, 7)
X, 126	Additio "27" (Heib. III, 408, 2-410, 16)
X, 127	Alt. dem. ad add. "27" (Heib. III, 410, 18-412, 19)
XI, 38	Vulgo XI, 38 (Heib. IV, 354, 1-22)

Unfortunately, the propositions have not been numbered in Books X and XI, but the interpolated propositions in VI and VII bear the numbers indicated above. Furthermore, all the above propositions have their enunciations, as do regular propositions, written in a larger hand. This suggests that they were considered as propositions, since the other lemmas, *alterae demonstrationes*, and additions are not so distinguished, though they often are separate paragraphs.



50. At times this abbreviation follows that of a Greek MS, at times it does not. It would appear that the translator was largely responsible for his own shortened proof endings.

51. Fir. Naz. C I 448 naturally lacks the two occurrences of bracketing in sections (XI, deff., XI, 33) not included in its incomplete version of our translation.

52. The Greek for these phrases can be found in the variants to Heib. III, 2, 10 and 2, 14.

53. In the porism following X, 6 after the translation of *πρὸς τὴν τρίτην* (Heib. III, 20, 21) we find [hec est, ut recta A ad rectam Z]. This may have been an expansion of the interlinear, suprascript letters in the Greek MSS cf. Heiberg's variants *ad loc.*.

54. This can be concisely exhibited as follows:

Given: (1)  $A/B = E/Z$ ;  $B/G = D/E$   
and (2)  $H = nA$ ,  $T = nB$ ,  $K = nD$ ;  $L = mG$ ,  $M = mE$ ,  $N = mZ$ ,

we can easily infer that  $H/T = M/N$  (Heib. II, 64, 7-16). From this point on, the roundabout procedures begin. We are to prove as an intermediate conclusion that  $T/L = K/M$ . The "pristine" Euclid (Heib. II, 64, 16-66, 3) accomplishes this as follows:

- (3) Since  $B/G = D/E$  (given), we infer  $B/D = G/E$ ;
- (4) And, on the basis of (2) above,  $B/D = T/K$ ;
- (5) Thus,  $T/K = G/E$ ;
- (6) Again, on the basis of that given in (2),  $G/E = L/M$ ;
- (7) But, by (5),  $T/K = L/M$ ;
- (8) Thus,  $T/L = K/M$ .

This procedure utilizes three propositions twice (V, 11, 15, 16) and is open to an additional objection which need not concern us here (cf. Heath [above, n.25] vol. 2, p. 183). The Theonine Euclid has all this but inserts the following alternative proof of the intermediate conclusion between steps (3) and (4) above (Heib., *lect. var. ad* II, 64, 17):

- (3a) On the basis of that given in (2) we can infer immediately (by V, 4) that  $T/L = K/M$ .

Clearly steps (3) and (3a) alone would have been sufficient, and this is exactly what the bracketing in our Latin translation advises.

The Latin text for this portion of the proof (covering Heib. II, 64, 7-66, 3) is: Sumantur quantitatium quidem A, B, D eque multiplicia I, T, K, quantitatium vero G, E, Z alia, que accidiť, eque multiplicia L, M. N. Et <quoniam> eque sunt multiplicia I, T quantitatium A, B, partes vero similiter multiplicia eandem habent proportionem, est ergo ut A ad B ita I ad T. Propter eadem ergo et sicut E ad Z et M ad N. Et est ut A ad B, E ad Z. Et sicut ergo I ad T et M ad N. Et quoniam est ut B ad G, D ad E *et sumpta sunt quantitatium quidem B, D eque multiplicia T, K, quantitatium vero G, E alia, que accidit, eque multiplicia L, M, est ergo ut T ad L ita K ad M.* [Permutatim ut B ad D, G ad E. Et quoniam T, K quantitatium B, D eque sunt multiplicia, partes vero similiter multiplicia eandem habent proportionem, est ergo ut B ad D ita T ad K. Verum sicut B

ad D, G ad E. Et sicut ergo T ad K, G ad E. Rursum, quoniam L, M quantitatam G, E eque sunt multiplicia, est ergo ut G ad E ita L ad M. Verum sicut G ad E ita T ad K. Et sicut ergo T ad K, L ad M, et permutatim sicut T ad L, K ad M] (42r-v). The italicized words are the Theonine addition, the preferred alternative proof of  $T/L = K/M$ .

The Florence codex differs from our Parisian copy in the arrangement of bracketing. It begins the proof of V, 23 precisely as BN 7373 (Heib. II, 64, 1-18) and then has the Theonine insertion, using a single square bracket to close the insertion. However, it next moves directly to the conclusion of the proof (Heib. II, 66, 3-16, the last few lines, as in BN 7373, being filled in by an "et cetera") and relegates the "pristine" proof of the intermediate conclusion (Heib. II, 64, 18-66, 3) to the end, introduced by a single square bracket.

55. David Gregory's edition of the Elements (*ΕΥΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ ΤΑ ΣΤΟΜΕΝΑ. Euclidis quae supersunt omnia*. Ex recensione Davidis Gregorii, Oxoniae 1703, pp. 110-11) contains only the added Theonine proof, as do the translations of Robert Simson; cf. Heath (above, n.25) vol. 2, p. 182.

56. The complete translation, including square brackets, of the end of the proof (corresponding to Heib. II, 366, 1-12) is as follows: Metitur ergo numerus E numerum A sicut antecedens antecedentem. Set et non metitur. [Quod impossibile. Non ergo numeri E, A primi ad se invicem sunt. Compositi ergo. Compositi autem numeri ab aliquo primo numero mensurantur. \*Numeri ergo A, E ab aliquo primo numero mensurantur.\* *Subiacebat autem et non metiens. Quod impossibile. Non ergo numerus E numerum A non metitur. Metitur ergo.* Et quoniam numerus E primus subiacet, qui autem primus sub altero numero non mensuratur quam sub se ipso, numerus ergo E numeros A, E metitur. Quare et numerus E numerum A metitur. *Subiacebat autem et non metiens.*] *Quod impossibile. Non ergo numerus E numerum A non metitur. Metitur ergo.* Metitur autem et numerum D. Numerus ergo E numeros A, D metitur. Similiter ergo ostendemus, quoniam sub quocunque primis numeris numerus D mensuratur, sub eisdem et numerus A mensurabitur. Quod oportebat ostendere (75r). The phrase between asterisks is a variant found in the margins of two of Heiberg's Theonine MSS. The sentences in italics find, so far as I have been able to discover, no Greek counterparts. Since the first set of these italicized sentences is identical with the second and, moreover, is quite out of place, their initial occurrence may be some sort of dittography (perhaps they were originally marginal). In any case, if we omit the section indicated by the brackets, the proof still reads smoothly, and with greater logical conciseness, which is the point at issue. Finally, although the microfilm I have of the Florence codex is at this frame so out of focus as to be illegible, I can still make out that it contains the same repetition of the italicized sections and at least the closing square bracket in the same place.

57. More exactly, the structure of the shortened proof is the following:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (1) If <i>not-p</i> , then <i>p</i>    | [Heib. II.362, 22-366, 2; the initial deduction that E measures A from the assumption that it does not], |
| (2) But <i>not-p</i>                   | [Set et non metitur; by hypothesis],   |
| (3) Not both <i>p</i> and <i>not-p</i> | [Quod impossibile],  |
| (4) Therefore, not <i>not-p</i>        | [Non ergo numerus E numerum A non metitur],  |
| (5) Therefore, <i>p</i>                | [Metitur ergo].  |

However, (1) is the crucial step allowing us to obtain (5), and the two together give the law described above.

58. See the excellent analysis by W. C. Kneale, "Aristotle and the *Consequentia mirabilis*," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 77 (1957) 62-66. For the later occurrence of this type of *consequentia* in philosophy and logic, see William and Martha Kneale, *The Development of Logic* (Oxford 1962) 173-74, 202, 346-47, 525.

59. *Euclidis posteriores libri IX . . . Auctore Christophoro Clavio* (Francofurti 1607) p. 175: Est autem admirabilis prima huius propositionis demonstratio. Nam in ea Euclides ex eo quod E dicatur non metiri ipsum A, ostendit demonstratione affirmativa E ipsum A metiri, quod videtur fieri non posse. Nam si quis demonstrare instituat Socratem esse album ex eo quod non est albus, paradoxum aliquid et inopinatum inmedium videatur afferre; cui tamen non absimile quid factum hic est in numeris ab Euclide et in aliis nonnullis propositionibus quae sequuntur. Cardanus quoque simile quid effecit in magnitudinibus, lib. 5 *De proportionibus*, propos. 201, gloriaturque se primum omnium hanc rationem (!) demonstrandi reperisse; quod arbitrator eum non dicturum fuisse, si diligentius vim huius demonstrationis expendisset vel certe, si expendit, eam in memoriam revocasset, quandoquidem ipso longe prior Euclides usus est hoc etiam demonstrandi modo, ut ex hoc theoremate 12 est manifestum. Eodem genere demonstrandi usus est Theodosius lib. I *Sphaericorum*, propos. 12, ut ibidem monuimus. For Cardano's use of this *modum demonstrandi* and Clavius' comment to the proposition of Theodosius, see G. B. Halsted's introduction to his edition of Girolamo Saccheri's *Euclides vindicatus* (Chicago 1920) pp. xxi-xxii.

60. Halsted (above, n.59) p. 237. The fundamental work, however, in uncovering the history behind Saccheri's logic was done by Giovanni Vailati in two articles: "Di un' opera dimenticata del P. Gerolamo Saccheri ('Logica Demonstrativa' 1697)," *Scritti* (Firenze 1911) pp. 477-84, and "A proposito d'un passo del Teeteto e di una dimostrazione di Euclide," *ibid.*, pp. 516-27.

61. That is, the sentence "Et est numerus E primus; omnis autem primus ad omnem quem non metitur est primus; numeri ergo E, A primi ad se invicem sunt" (Heib. II, 362, 22-364, 2).

62. The occurrence of a first *vel* (Heib. II, 188, 6) seemingly rendering an  $\eta$  found in two other MSS but not in B, could be accounted for by the  $\eta$  (also translated *vel*) occurring in the following line found in B and all MSS. Secondly, the reading of *est* for B's  $\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$  when another MS, namely V (= Vienna, Gr. 103), has  $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$  (Heib. III, 4, 14) could have been inferred from the corresponding passage (Heib. III, 4, 9) in the enunciation of X, 1 where the Theonine reading, B included, is  $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ . More difficult is the placing of the spurious definition VI, 5 (Heib. II, 72, 13-15) fifth, and not third, as it is in B; of the other MSS Heiberg used in his edition, only P (the "pristine" MS) has it, marginally, in the former position. Could its irrelevance (it is usually held to be interpolated) have urged the translator to place it in the terminal position among the definitions? Or is this evidence for another Greek text?

63. See paragraph (5) below.

64. The translation does not follow B in, for example, unnatural order of words (Heib. I, 2, 6), the order of letters (I, 14, 24; 18, 6), the gender (I, 114, 21; 298, 23), the omission of a particle — often  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  in a  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu . . . \delta\acute{\epsilon}$  pair (II, 192, 13;

320, 17, 19; 340, 10), the omission of the usual concluding Q.E.D. (II, 316, 5; 340, 19), the omission of an understood *est* (I, 78, 4; 140, 16; II, 194, 5), the addition of a superfluous word or clause (IV, 16, 13; 92, 10), or the occurrence of erroneous letters (I, 34, 19; II, 288, 21). In other instances, the sense of the whole would, or could, give basis for rejecting B's reading: an out-of-place or misused  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  (I, 8, 3) or  $\delta\eta$  (*lect. var. ad* II, 326, 13), the required (because of  $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ )  $\tau\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\rho\alpha$  instead of B's  $\tau\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega\nu\alpha$  (I, 8, 1), the logical  $\sigma\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$  in a proportion (II, 46, 15), an omitted word (II, 372, 10) or specification (II, 374, 14) needed to give meaning to the context, or the omission of an obviously required  $\iota\sigma\eta$  (IV, 140, 6). Cf. also the translation's variance with B at I, 4, 20; IV, 28, 7.

65. The translation follows B in:  $\epsilon\iota\ \mu\eta$  for  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota$  (I, 58, 6), the omission of significant words (I, 188, 19; 210, 19; 214, 13) or whole phrases (I, 194, 20; II, 242, 8), the addition of a telling term (I, 200, 18), a marginal  $\eta$  for a  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  omitted in the body of the text (II, 320, 24), a suprascript addition of considerable length (II, 326, 9), and other major unique variants (II, 282, 24; 328, 3; III, 144, 5). Not so crucial are its agreements with B in I, 42, 8, 12; 130, 3; 146, 2; 184, 1, 5, 7; II, 126, 2; 204, 5; 242, 9; 314, 10; 138, 2. Other agreements with unique variants are I, 10, 10; 114, 25; 196, 1; 202, 21.

66. These are merely a particle being omitted or added (I, 10, 19; 180, 11; 286, 7) a missing, but understood,  $\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}$  (II, 46, 11) or  $\upsilon\pi\acute{o}$  (II, 126, 2). However, one of these disagreements is evidence for the use of a MS other than B (or the pristine P): II, 4, *additio post def. 7*.

67. The remaining cases of our version's agreement with B and some one other MS are: I, 18, 4; 34, 19; 138, 18; and, more interesting, I, 166, 26.

68. Cf. Heib. V, xlix.

69. Thus, the Latin reads with Bp in the addition of a decisive word (I, 154, 23) or complete clause (II, 46, 17), the omission of a whole phrase (II, 82, 27), or the substitution of a significant variant (I, 286, 18; II, 26, 5; 96, 16). Less impressive agreements with Bp are I, 130, 15; 188, 5; 274, 5, 11, 12; 286, 25; 298, 4, 5.

70. Since p is a twelfth-century codex and, as we shall see, the translation itself derives from that century, it would not likely be based on a copy of p, though a direct ancestor of p would still be possible. Yet this too is rendered unlikely by the evidence that follows.

71. The Latin disagrees, for example, with the unique readings of p in II, 94, 6; 106, 5; 214, 1; 220, 18; 222, 3, 27. (These cases are drawn from a portion of the *Elements* where B otherwise very frequently reads alone with p.) Also pertinent is a case where the Latin follows B's version (and, at least partially, also that of V with a suprascript insert) of a variant highly divergent among the MSS, but definitely disagrees with p (I, 188, 20-21).

72. These four are, with the scholium to II, 14 just mentioned, scholia to V, 19, VI, 9 and X, 115 (see Appendix II for further specification).

73. The Latin for these two scholia (to VIII, 11 and 12, corresponding to Heib. V, 394, 17-19 and 395, 8-16) is as follows: to VIII, 11: [Propter terminum V<sup>ti</sup> dicentem: quando vero tres quantitates proportionales fuerint, prima ad tertiam duplam proportionem habere dicitur quam ad secundam <I>]; to VIII, 12: [Propter terminum dicentem: si quattuor quantitates proportionales fuerint, prima ad quartam triplam proportionem habere dicitur quam ad secundam. Hoc est, LXIIII ad XXVII triplam proportionem habere dicitur quam ad XLVIII. Numeri enim XXVII tertia est IX; hec apposita numero XXVII



fit XXXVI; proportio una *epitertia*. Rursum, numeri XXXVI tertia XII; hec addita numero XXXVI faciunt XLVIII; proportio una (!secunda?) *epitertia*. Rursum, numeri XLVIII tertia XVI; apposita numero XLVIII fiunt LXIII; proportio *tertia epitertia*. *Quare quam proportionem habet LXIII ad XLVIII epitertiam, hanc ad XXVII (corr. ex XXVIII) triplicatam proportionem habet*] (68v-69r). As indicated, the closing bracket is missing from the first of these scholia. Furthermore, the Latin presents a fuller version of the second scholium; the concluding italicized sentence does not appear in any of its Greek copies. The other italicized words represent other variants from the Greek.

74. That is, the translation includes not merely the porism following VII, 3 (which is in the Theonine group BVp), in which, incidentally, it follows the variant of B, but the addition to this porism found only in V (Heib. II, *lect. var. ad* 198, 13). This would seem to be evidence for the use of both B and V, but see below for V.

75. Heiberg, "Paralipomena zu Euklid," *Hermes* 38 (1903) 59-74, 161-93. This is not necessarily meant to imply that any of the "V-related" MSS Heiberg here discusses were used by the translator (most are too late), but rather that the frequency with which one finds such MSS makes it more likely that a relative of V (perhaps now lost) was among the additional MSS employed.

76. See Heiberg's note to II, p. 4. This, the two bracketed scholia, the addition to VII, 3, and the position of the interpolated VI, def. 5 discussed above constitute the indications for an additional MS referred to in notes 62, 63, and 66.

77. This will be evident if the information tabulated below is compared with the corresponding information given for these and other translators by L. Minio-Paluello in "Henri Aristippe, Guillaume de Moerbeke et les traductions latines médiévales des 'Météorologiques' et du 'De Generatione et Corruptione' d'Aristote," *Revue philosophique de Louvain* 45 (1947) 218 and "Iacobus Veneticus Graecus: Canonist and Translator of Aristotle," *Traditio* 8 (1952) 288-89.

78. I have used the following MSS and ed. in collecting the information given below: (1) *Almagest*: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale, Conventi Soppressi, MS A 5 2654, 11-120r; (2) *Data*: Bodleian Library, Auct. MS F.5.28, 99r-113r (*olim* 58r-72r); (3) *Optica*: ed. Heiberg, *Opera omnia*, vol. 7 (Leipzig 1895) pp. 3-121; (4) *Catoptrica*: Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 251, 7v-10r.

There are two Greek-Latin versions of the *Catoptrica*. I have used that which faithfully follows, word for word, the Greek text as we have it. There is, however, a version that occasionally contains abbreviated versions of the proofs (much like those, for example, in the Adelard II Arabic-Latin *Elements*). It is found in other MSS (e.g., Bodl. Auct. F.5.28, 57r-64r [*olim* 17r-24r]). Samples of this alternate version were edited by Heiberg from a Dresden manuscript (Heib. VII, li-liii). Could this abbreviated version have been the work of Roger Bacon or Jordanus de Nemore, as the ascription of several copies of the Latin *Catoptrica* to these figures suggests (cf. A. G. Little, ed., *Roger Bacon, Essays* [Oxford 1914] pp. 394-95)? Finally, it should be mentioned that both Heiberg's Dresden codex (D b 86) and the Bodleian MS of this abbreviated version contain the genuine, full Greek proofs in the margin.

79. Helmut Boese has already published a similar count based on the introduction to the *Almagest* in this translation in his *Die mittelalterliche Übersetzung der ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΣΙΣ ΦΥΣΙΚΗ des Proclus* (Berlin 1958) 17-18. How-

ever, in an attempt to obtain material as similar as possible to the *Elements*, I have disregarded his tabulation and compiled another based on more strictly geometrical passages of Ptolemy's work.

Though I have indicated differences between *ergo-igitur* and *ursum-rursus* below, these may be due to scribe rather than translator and could hence reasonably be counted together. Moreover, some of the more unexpected renderings of a given particle might be the result of a now unknown Greek variant rather than an outlandish translating technique. The abbreviation "om." indicates untranslated occurrences of the particle. The omission of any of the five works indicates that no instances of the particle have been recorded.

80. Furthermore, some of these variations lose significance if one looks further. Thus, though the *Almagest* translation more frequently renders  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  by *atque* than does that of the *Elements*, the major portion of these cases are, among the sections examined, localized in a single stretch of text (Book XI). In other places, it more closely matches the frequency of variants in the *Elements* translation. Perhaps the translator abruptly changed technique. Inclusion of some of the alternatives listed by Boese (see above, n.79) would also lessen some differences: for example, the *Almagest* also uses *quoque* for  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  and exhibits, like the *Elements*, an almost equal frequency of *adhuc* and *amplius* for  $\epsilon\tau\iota$ .

81. The Latin of the *Elements* wavers between *prismata* and *seratila*, *epipedum* and *planum*, *isogonium* and *equiangulum*, *isopleurum* and *equilaterum*, *isoskeles* and *equicrurum*, *stereos* and *solidus*, etc. Further, both the *Elements* and the *Almagest* translations employ the following pairs: *orthogonium* and *rectangulum*, *diastima* and *spatium*, *parallilos* and *equidistans*. For other double translations in the *Almagest* see Haskins (above, n.19) p. 163.

82. Both use *συναμφότερον* = *contutrumque*, *συναποδεδειγμένον* = *coostensum*, *ὑπεροχή* = *superhabundantia*.

83. See above, n.20.

84. The *Optica* and *Catoptrica* seem, however, closer to one another than does the *Data* to either of them. Yet, in face of this, attention should be drawn to the fact that, for example,  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \dots \delta\acute{\epsilon}$  constructions are far more frequent in the text of the two optical works than in the *Data*. Cumulatively, present evidence makes a single translator for all seem probable, but a more thorough investigation of all three works is needed for any definitive stand on the question.

85. Boese, however, has found one *quod* in twenty-five additional occurrences of  $\delta\tau\iota$  in the *Almagest*.

86. Note also the variant rendering of  $\delta\tau\alpha\nu$  in the *Data*.

87. Though the *Almagest* uses *coniungere* once in some twenty-odd instances.

88. On Boese's judgment (above, n.79; pp. 18-19) of the identity of translators for the *Almagest* and Proclus' *De motu*, we might add a third work to our translator's accomplishments. However, though Boese has guarded his decision with appropriate qualifications, the additional evidence from our tabulation makes his suggestion even less likely. For, if we compare Boese's count (given in his *indices verborum*) not just with the related information he has drawn from the *Almagest* himself, but also with the more extensive evidence we have set down above, Proclus' *De motu* appears to correspond more closely to the translations of the *Data*, *Optica*, and *Catoptrica* than to the *Almagest* and the *Elements*. Most interesting, I think, is the fact that the *De Motu* differs most significantly from these latter two in the rendition of precisely those particles we have just

seen to be the points of major variation exhibited by the *Data*, *Optica*, and *Catoptrica*. The *De motu* gives: (1)  $\delta\tau$ : *quoniam* (24), *quod* (4) [which, though not like the percentages revealed by the three minor Euclidean works, is even further removed from the *Elements*' *quoniam* (58) and the *Almagest*'s—including, now, Boese's count as well—*quoniam* (54), *quod* (1)]; (2)  $\delta\epsilon$ : *vero* (39), *autem* (22), *et* (9), *at vero* (3), *-que* (1), *enim* (?) (!) [where the occurrence of *et* speaks for greater kinship with the *Data*, *Optica*, and *Catoptrica*]; and (3)  $\delta\eta$ : *autem* (6), *vero* (5), *om.* (2) [where the lack of the preponderant *ergo* of the *Almagest* and the *Elements* is most significant]. Consequently, if I am correct in holding with one translator for the *Elements* and the *Almagest* and another for the *Data*, *Optica*, and *Catoptrica*, I should think it likely that the *De motu* too belongs to the latter group. This would also fit better with another fact that we shall soon examine: that the *Almagest-Elements* translator made some kind of preliminary study of just these four works!

89. The inscription in one MS of this translation indicating that it was made "in urbe Panormi tempore regis Roggerii per Hermannum" has been shown by Haskins (above, n.19; pp. 53-54) to be incorrect — if, that is, Hermann of Carinthia is intended (as seems probable). The most we can say would be that some other, unknown Hermann was the translator. Subsequently, Franz Bliemetzrieder (*Adelard von Bath* [München 1935] 149-274) has, in over-enthusiastically claiming accomplishments for the central figure of his book, attempted to prove Adelard's authorship of the translation. But F. Pelster (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung* [1935] cols. 1473-74) has clearly revealed the weaknesses and inconclusiveness of his arguments. The translation still remains anonymous.

90. Again, Haskins' discovery (of the preface) and analysis is fundamental (above, n.19; pp. 157-64, 191-93, the basis for the biographical details of our translator that follow). Cf. J. L. Heiberg, "Eine mittelalterliche Übersetzung der Syntaxis des Ptolemaios," *Hermes* 45 (1910) 57-66, and "Noch einmal die mittelalterliche Ptolemaios-Übersetzung," *Hermes* 46 (1911) 207-16. The latter article was stimulated by Haskins' original publication of his work (together with Dean Putnam Lockwood): "The Sicilian Translators of the Twelfth Century and the First Latin Version of Ptolemy's *Almagest*," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 21 (1910) 75-102; cf. 23 (1912) 155-66.

91. That is, Eugene the Emir of Palermo. Competent, as our translator notes in his preface, in Greek (presumably his native tongue), Arabic, and Latin, he is important in the history of science chiefly for his translation of Ptolemy's *Optica* from Arabic into Latin (cf. Albert Lejeune, ed., *L'Optique de Claude Ptolémée dans la version latine d'après l'arabe de l'émir Eugène de Sicile*, Louvain 1956). Haskins' investigation of Eugene (above, n.19; pp. 171-76) is still the most informative.

92. Haskins (above, n.19) p. 191, lines 32-34.

93. Heiberg, "Noch einmal . . ." (above, n.90) p. 209 and Haskins (above, n.19) p. 179.

94. Here, one is tempted to speculate: If, with Haskins (above, n.19; p. 171), we closely connect the translator's citation of these four works with his immediately following mention of Eugene the Emir, could it not be that Eugene translated them and that these Latin versions were studied by our anonymous scholar? We do have evidence that Eugene translated into Latin a Greek version of an oracular forecast of the Erythraean Sibyl (Haskins, pp. 173-74).



95. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

96. *Ibid.*, p. 191, lines 4-6.

97. Heib. V, xxvii-xxix; cf. Heath (above, n.25) vol. 1, pp. 47-48.

98. Sokrates B. Kougeas, 'Ο Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ. Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς πρώτης ἀναγεννήσεως τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων ἐν Βυζαντίῳ (Athens 1913) pp. 97-138. The extant manuscripts from Arethas' library are also discussed by Adolf Harnack, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen Apologeten des zweiten Jahrhunderts in der alten Kirche und im Mittelalter, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, Bd. I, Heft 1-2 (Leipzig 1882) pp. 36-46. More detailed information concerning Arethas' annotations in his book is given by Joseph Bidez, "Aréthas de Césarée, éditeur et scholiaste," *Byzantion* 9 (1934) 391-408. In addition to Kougeas' monograph, other general information concerning Arethas can be found in Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur* (München 1897) 129-31, 524-25; and Hans-Georg Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (München 1959) 591-94.

99. Heib. V, xxvii-xxix and Ernest Maass, "Observationes paleographicae," *Mélanges Graux* (Paris 1884) 750-54. For examples of Arethas' scholia see Heib. V, pp. 361, 708, 719, 722. The "lecture" copied by Arethas in his copy of Euclid was one given by the Byzantine mathematician Leon; cf. J. L. Heiberg, "Der byzantinische Mathematiker Leon," *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, Neue Folge, vol. 1 (1887) pp. 33-36, the text of the lecture itself being printed in Heib. V, 714, 17-718, 14.

100. That MS B was not in Sicily in 1156 is suggested by Aristippus' prefatory letter to his translation of the *Phaedo*. It is not here mentioned among those works available in Sicily at that time, as are Euclid's *Optica* and Hero's *Mechanica*, to cite several scientific examples; cf. *Plato Latinus*, vol. 2: *Phaedo interprete Henrico Aristippo*, ed. L. Minio-Paluello (London 1950) p. 89.

101. I have ignored the question of the influence our translation may have had upon later, Arabic-Latin editions of the *Elements* and upon the medieval study of Euclid in general, a question that may be adequately treated only after the complete transcription and investigation of the other translations and versions of the *Elements* in the Latin Middle Ages. It seems, however, possible that medieval knowledge of some of the *additiones* found in the Theonine Euclid may have derived from our Greek-Latin version. For example, the "corollary" to X, 1 (Heib. III, 6, 9-10) — though not, to be sure, a Theonine addition — appears in only two medieval versions (Arabic or Latin) of the *Elements*: in our Greek-Latin translation and in the Latin version prepared by Campanus of Novara. Is it not likely that our translation was Campanus' source?

102. Clagett (above, n.3) pp. 30-42.

103. Or he may have been aware of an Arabic translation from the Greek. See what follows.

104. This preface will be discussed in greater detail below.

105. The compendium employs *triangulum* and *perpendicularis*, and our main translation *trigonum* and *cathetus*. These and other features make me think it unlikely that they are the work of a single person.

106. Thus, we have an epitome of what appears in Heiberg's Greek V, 2, 1-48, 15.

107. As an example of both the abbreviation and such minor changes, I give what corresponds in our compendium to XIV, 1 (Heib. V, 4, 6-8, 9): (*Enunc.*)



A centro circuli deducta perpendicularis ad latus pentagonicum equalis est dimidio lateris exagonici laterisque decagonici. (*Proof*) In circulo ABG ad latus pentagonicum BG [AG MS] deducta est a centro D perpendicularis DE, quam dimidio lateris exagonici laterisque decagonici equalem dicimus. Primo quidem ED directe hinc inde usque ad circumferentiam producta fiet diametros AZ, deinde summimus EH equa(!) EZ simulque continuamus lineas GZ, GH, GD. Quoniam itaque circulus totus quincuplus est arcui BZG, erit semicirculus AGZ, sicque arcus AG quadruplus arcui GZ. Unde angulus ADG quadruplus angulus GDZ. Est autem angulus ADG duplus [quadruplus MS] angulus DZG; sic ergo DZG duplus fit angulo GDZ. Quoniam vero EH equum est EZ, angulique apud E recti, fiunt et latera GH, GZ equalia; unde et anguli GZH et GHZ equales. Est ergo angulus GHZ duplus angulo GDH. Unde latera HG et HD equalia; est ergo DH equum GZ. Datum autem EH equum EZ, sic itaque totum DZ simul cum [est MS] ZG duplum est perpendiculari DE, quod latus exagonicum cum latere decagonico. (*Proem. ad prop. 2*) Quoniam itaque manifestum est in libro XIII<sup>o</sup>, a centro circuli perpendicularem ad latus trianguli <equilateri> deductam dimidium esse *lateris exagonici, erit perpendicularis a centro circuli ad latus pentagonicum deducta equalis perpendiculari ad [al(?)MS] latus trianguli deducte simul cum dimidio lateris decagonici*. Nunc igitur quoniam instantis demonstrationis est quod Aristeus scribit in libro de habitudine quinque figurarum atque Apollonius in traditione secunda de propositione solidi XX basium triangularum ad solidum XII basium pentagonarum cum eam, dicam proportionem solidi XX basium triangularum ad solidum XII basium pentagonarum, que videlicet superficiei illius ad superficiem huius, idque ideo nimirum, quoniam circulus continens triangulum solidi XX basium equalis fit circulo continenti pentagonum solidi XII basium *Consequenter eis que posita sunt, subiungi necesse est que demonstrationis ordo postulat* (168r-v). The italicized words are changes in, or additions to, the substance of the Greek text. The "solids" referred to are, of course, those inscribed in the same sphere.

108. Among all the other medieval Latin translations or editions of the *Elements* made from the Arabic, only one, that of Gerard of Cremona, reproduces this Greek preface, or anything like it. Gerard's version reads: Cum Thesilides Sirus perrexisset Alexandriam, invenit ibi patrem meum apud quem per maiorem partem temporis quo ibi moratus est eo quod essent socii in consideratione scientie mathematice. Tunc vero legentes librum quem edidit Appolonius de proportionem figure habentis duodecim bases quam habet ad figuram habentem viginti bases quarum queque in una spera constituta est et de probatione cuiusque earum, estimaverunt non esse verum quod in eo continebatur. Quapropter assumptis verba libri illius et corrigentes que corrigenda erant, scripserunt ea quemadmodum patre meo narrante accepi. Post hoc autem reperi librum alium quem Appolonius edidit de figuris quas prediximus, in quo continebantur probationes vere ex quibus valde profeci in scientia eorum que prediximus. Liber tamen hic, quia iam a multis habetur communiter, a nobis et ab aliis inspicere et intellegi potest. Librum autem quem post hunc scripsi de predictis, in quo diligentissime et attentissime exposui quicquid visum est, mihi explanandum fore. Estimavi illum tibi fore mittendum precipue cum tu possis discernere que in eo dicuntur et memorie commendare. Tu enim in tota scientia disciplinalium precipuus es et quam maxime in geometric fuisti, preterea patris

mei socius et nobis bonus consiliator, et placet tibi audire ea que dico. Opportunum est igitur, ut hiis pretermisissis, incipiam loqui de hiis de quibus loqui proposui (MSS BN 7216, 101r; Vat. Lat. 7299, 128r-v).

109. The Gerard of Cremona translation cited in the previous note held both Books XIV and XV to be due to Hypsicles (there called Assicolaus).

110. For this and the following information drawn from the preface, see its complete transcription in the incipit and explicit of the compendium given at the end of the present Appendix.

111. See, for example, the concluding sentence of the text given above in n.107.

112. Bodleian Library, Arabic MSS 279 and 280. These two codices were not available to me.

113. We do possess, however, a possibly altered version of this Arabic text in Al-Nairizi's commentary to the *Elements* (R. O. Besthorn, J. L. Heiberg, et al., *Codex Leidensis* 399, 1: *Euclidis Elementa ex interpretatione Al-Hadschdschadschii cum commentariis Al-Narizii*, 3 pts. in 6 fasc., Copenhagen 1893-1932). But this only covers Books I-VI.

114. (*Enunc.*) Latus exagonici si <pro>portione medii et extremorum dividatur, pars maior est latus decagonici. (*Proof*) Sic AB latere exagonico proportionem medii et extremorum diviso, partem maiorem BG latus decagonicus dicimus. Si enim lateri exagonico AB directe continueter, latus decagonicus BD erit et tota linea proportionem medii <et> extremorum divisa eique pars maior AB [per XIII, 9]. Assummimus itaque lineam EH equalem AB, eamque proportionem medii et extremorum dividimus cuius pars maior HZ. Quoniam igitur que proportio AB, ad BG eadem est EH ad HZ, cum sit AB equalis EH, erit et HZ equalis BG. Deinde, quoniam que proportio AD ad AB eadem est EH ad HZ, disiunctum etiam et converso erit que proportio AB ad BD eadem ZH ad EZ; erit itaque superficies AB in EZ equalis superficiei BD in HZ. Est autem superficies AB in EZ equalis tetragono HZ; est igitur HZ equalis BD. Unde BG latus decagonicum (168r). Note that the required inscription of the hexagon and decagon in the same circle is not specified, but taken for granted.

115. XIII, 9 of Euclid (used in the proof of the present proposition) is, it seems, the closest relative to our theorem. It states that, if one adds the side of the hexagon to the side of the decagon (both polygons being, of course, inscribed in the same circle), the resulting line is cut in extreme and mean ratio, its greater part being the side of the hexagon. However, one does find a proposition identical with that prefixed to our compendium in the Greek tradition. It is a lemma in Pappus, Book V, prop. 47 (Pappus Alexandrini, *Collectionis quae supersunt*, ed. F. Hultsch [Berlin 1876] vol. I, p. 434). This may have been, probably within the Arabic tradition, the ultimate source of the added proposition. But this is not meant to suggest that the paraphraser found it in Pappus. It is most likely, as I shall show, that he lifted it from Adelard of Bath's Arabic-Latin version of the *Elements*.

116. The proposition to be proved is XIV, 2 of the Greek text (Heib. V, 6, 19-14, 2), but Prop. 4 of the compendium. Here, its enunciation reads: His positis, assumimus demonstrandum quoniam pentagonum solidi XII basium pentagonarum et triangulum XX basium triangularum in eadem sphaera constructorum, idem circulus convenit (169r). Both XIII, 9 and the converse of XIII, 5 are employed in the Greek proof of this proposition. At the same point in the proof, the compendium utilizes instead the added theorem we have been

discussing. Since this theorem itself uses XIII, 9 in its proof, its major advantage seems to lie in avoiding the (unproved) converse of XIII, 5. It is further notable that, like the paraphrase, Pappus uses his version of our added theorem to prove the same proposition dealing with the pentagonal and triangular faces of dodecahedra and icosahedra (Pappus, V, prop. 48; Hultsch, vol. I, pp. 434-38).

117. That is, in what Clagett (above, n.3) has distinguished as Adelard I (MS Bodleian Libr., D'Orville 70, 70v), Adelard II (MSS Bodl. Auct. F.5.28, 54v [*olim* 14v] and Oxford, Trinity College 47, 137r), and Adelard III (MS Oxford, Balliol College 257, 98r). Our theorem is XIV, 9 in this Adelardian tradition and reads (in the most frequent Adelard II version) as follows: *Diviso latere exagoni secundum proportionem habentem medium duoque extrema, maior eius portio erit latus decagoni circumscripti a circulo ipsum exagonum circumscribente*. The proof (in MS F.5.28 only) is similar to the one in our compendium, though more detailed.

118. He may have been referring, though, to the Arabic original from which Adelard made his translation, where the theorem might have actually been at the head of Book XV.

119. *Si latus exagoni secundum proportionem habentem medium et duo extrema dividatur, maior eius sectio erit latus decagoni qui a circulo continetur* (MSS BN Lat. 7216, 102r; Vat. Lat. 7299, 129v; Vat. Reg. Lat. 1268, 136v). This suggests that the theorem was of Arabic origin and not Adelard's invention; he, one could conjecture, at most just misplaced it. Note, however, that at least one copy of Gerard's version of the *Elements* contains the theorem both as XIV, 3 and at the end of Book XIV but there in Adelard's translation (Vat. Reg. Lat. 1268, 141r).

120. *Euclidis Megarensis mathematici clarissimi Elementorum geometricorum libri XV, cum expositione . . . Campani in omnes . . .* (Basel 1558) 453. Like Gerard, Campanus also utilizes the theorem in the proposition we have been considering (which is XIV, 5 in his version).

121. The (later) rubricator of BN 7373 has even regarded the whole compendium as merely Book XIV, thus supposedly neatly filling the gap left in our main translation of the *Elements*.

## THREE IMAGES OF THE GOD MÊN

ULRICH W. HIESINGER

IN view of E. N. Lane's current undertaking in a long neglected field of study,<sup>1</sup> it seems an especially appropriate moment to present several objects relating to the study of the god Mên. A Phrygian lunar deity, Mên was worshiped in ancient times throughout western Asia Minor. His precise role in the pantheon of Asiatic divinities is as yet undetermined, but we do know that he could be separately invoked as a god who healed the sick, punished wrongdoers, and guarded the sanctity of tombs. He could also appear as a soldier's god and, by inference from his lunar character, give and ensure fertility in nature. As a rule he was worshiped alone, but could occasionally appear in consort, and his identity could merge with those of other divinities.<sup>2</sup>

The first of the objects to be discussed is a small bronze figurine purchased by the Fogg Art Museum through funds from the D. M. Robinson bequest (pls. I, II).<sup>3</sup> It is known to come from somewhere in Asia Minor, although the exact provenance is uncertain.

The god is shown facing front with the head turned slightly to his right. His weight is borne on the straight right leg, while the left is bent and withdrawn behind. The right foot from above the ankle is missing. The left leg has been broken off from below the knee at the point where the cloak, tangent behind, terminates. In reattaching the lower leg and foot, a section of the leg was removed. On the left foot is a sandal open at the toes and tied in front. The only inconsistency in recognizing this foot as original (cf. Addendum) lies in the fact that the "sandal" has its top edge clearly defined just below the ankle and seems not to have extended beyond it. On the right shin, however, there is a thong with vertical depressions, which binds two projecting straps with longer vertical grooves to the right and left of the leg. All this suggests a longer, more boot-like arrangement than the left foot shows.

In its present state of repair a somewhat misleading impression of the whole figure is given, for the left leg itself is disproportionately short, and it is attached in an awkward inward curve. Seen without it the figure assumes a more comfortable and natural posture. The



outward swing of the right hip becomes more pronounced and is made more meaningful as a counterbalance to the disengaged left side.

The right arm is lowered and bent at the elbow. The extended right hand holds a pine cone, one of the most frequent attributes of Mên, but one whose meaning is still uncertain. It has been variously identified as representing a scented offering,<sup>4</sup> a symbol of the god's apotropaic role,<sup>5</sup> or as symbol of procreation, fertility,<sup>6</sup> and thus eternity.<sup>7</sup>

The left arm is in a position similar to that of the right, but is placed somewhat closer to the body. Again the forearm is extended but has been neatly severed at the wrist, perhaps in preparation for a repair at the same time that the left foot was attached.

The god wears a short, sleeved chiton bound up at the waist. The edge of the long sleeve is clearly marked at the right wrist, and the slightly buckled fabric is indicated along the extent of the arms. The rather deep-cut, gently curving folds on the upper torso are set off by a raised band from the straight, pleat-like folds which fall from the waist. The vertical projection to his right above the hip and a similar one to the left may be the ends of a sash.

A long cloak is fastened at the chest by a double-lobed clasp. The cloak falls straight behind, and the material is turned upon itself at either side to form parallel ridges (pl. II, b). The broad expanse of the back surface is broken by a progression of incised curved folds and a long diagonal ridge.

Placed upon the shoulders are the points of a crescent moon, perhaps the most characteristic attribute of Mên. Parallel to the edge of each section is cut a groove which sets off an inner crescent in relief.

On his head Mên wears a Phrygian cap which hangs behind to cover the nape of the neck. A series of cut grooves representing the seams converge at the peak where a dot is placed. On the front and to the sides appears what seems to be an ornament of stylized floral patterns (see accompanying illustration). Surface corrosion has rendered the center-



most part an indistinct mass of incisions and dots, but to the left and right can be seen a pair of short grooves surmounted by three hemispherical depressions and placed diagonally to a longer axial groove. Mên appears frequently on coins wearing a cap ornamented with stars,<sup>8</sup> but the associative meaning of this kind of ornament, if it bears any significance at all, is unknown.<sup>9</sup> Short diagonal cuttings mark off the border of the cap in a sort of fringe.

The long hair of the god is rendered in broad, irregular masses. The eyes are large and deep set, the pupils being indicated by circular depressions which direct the gaze upward and to the right (pl. II, a). A rather broad nose, fleshy cheeks, and slightly parted lips complete the abstracted, nearly passive countenance. There is in the whole figure an impression of a somewhat uneasy balance between the calm, almost inert bearing of the god and the dry, restless surface forms. The body is rather simply modeled, and in places the transitions between forms are notably harsh (as, for instance, at the left knee). Although attention is given to details such as the fingernails and wrinkles of the right hand, their rendering is quite sketchy.

The precise dating of such a piece must remain problematical, but we can see in the Fogg bronze, as noted above, certain features of late antique sculpture which seem to suggest the third century after Christ; perhaps in the third or fourth decade of that era.<sup>10</sup>

Representations of Mên vary considerably in their form, yet it is possible to recognize within the body of monuments and coins certain representational types which recur more frequently than others. Perhaps the most common image of Mên on coins shows him standing facing left with crescent on shoulders, wearing the Phrygian cap, short chiton, and cloak falling behind. In his outstretched right hand is held a pine cone (less frequently a patera) while the left rests upon a long staff or lance.<sup>11</sup> The Fogg bronze, while related to this type, is slightly differentiated by the lowered left arm and omission of the lance. This identical type is known to me only on a few coins, mainly from Galatia, of the time from Galba to Caracalla.<sup>12</sup>

The closest example, on a coin struck at Ancyra, shows the god extending a patera in the right hand while the pine cone now appears in the left.<sup>13</sup> It may be that the Fogg bronze also once held a patera or similar object in his missing left hand, but other coins show this arm apparently free from any attribute. Of special interest is the fact that this type is used on coins to represent the statue of Mên at the entrance to a temple.<sup>14</sup> Although the impression is not entirely clear, the lowered arms, details of costume, and even the noticeable shift of the right hip

with the left leg disengaged are plainly seen. Appearing on the coin in such a context, it thus seems plausible to see in the Fogg bronze a useful reflection of a large-scale prototype which once served as a cult image at least in parts of Galatia. Judging by the stance, the original might have been formulated as early as the later fourth century B.C.

A second bronze statuette of Mên, said to come from Attalia (Antalya), is in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden (pl. III).<sup>15</sup> This and the Fogg example are the only bronze figures of Mên of which I have certain knowledge.<sup>16</sup>

Here the god stands turned to his left. The right leg bears the weight of the figure while the left is raised, bent, and rests upon the head of a bull. The association of Mên with a bull is a standard one, and different interpretations of its meaning have been offered. The analogy has been drawn between the shape of the animal's horns and the crescent moon, and attempts made to see a connection with the role of the bull in the cults of Mithras and Cybele-Attis.<sup>17</sup> What seems the most obvious and acceptable explanation is that the bull, whatever its original associations, appears in reference to the principal sacrificial animal of the cult.<sup>18</sup>

In the outstretched left hand Mên holds the pine cone. The right arm is raised and once rested upon a staff. The god wears a chiton girdled at the chest by a broad band and under which is a long-sleeved garment. At the left shoulder hang the looped folds of a long cloak which sweeps from behind to cover the right leg and the raised left leg. He also wears high, laced boots tied by a bow in the front; the crescent moon is again placed on his shoulders.

From beneath the Phrygian cap emerges shoulder-length hair rendered as numerous clumps of tousled locks. The eyes, rather crisply defined, contribute much to the effect of alertness which characterizes the face. On the whole there is a more evident feeling for the plasticity of the human form than is true of the Fogg bronze. The flat, overlapping folds of the garments move in an easy, deliberate rhythm and help create the sense of a natural animation. This bronze should date before the one in the Fogg Museum and may perhaps be assigned to the second half of the second century after Christ.

The Leiden statuette belongs to the same representational type as a marble statuette found at Antioch in Pisidia.<sup>19</sup> They both have as the most distinguishing features a leg resting upon a bucranium and the long cloak draping the legs. The principal difference between the two representations is that the Antioch statue leans his left arm upon a rectangular pier; and, while it is not possible to say from the photo-

graph with absolute certainty that the Leiden statuette had no such support, it appears unlikely that it did. Next to the first mentioned type (cf. p. 305) perhaps the most frequently occurring representation on coins shows him in this way, either exactly as in the Leiden bronze,<sup>20</sup> or, as on the coins of Antioch in Pisidia, with the addition of a pier or column supporting the left arm. On the Antiochene coins, a Victory atop a globe replaces the pine cone in the left hand.<sup>21</sup>

It may be remarked that the supporting column which appears on the Antiochene coins has no special significance in the iconography of Mên, and its inclusion on these small-scale representations is somewhat puzzling. Its presence, however, would be perfectly explainable as a device by which a sculptor working in stone on a large scale could give stability to the structure of the extended left arm. The inference again seems to be that a cult statue was the source for such a representation. The appearance of Mên in the type of the Leiden statuette within a temple facade (without the column and holding a patera instead of a pine cone) further strengthens the supposition that it, like the Fogg bronze, served as a small-scale reproduction of a monumental devotional image.<sup>22</sup>

Another frequently occurring type shows Mên as a horseman, and this is illustrated by our third object, a small terracotta figurine in the McDaniel Collection at Harvard University (pl. IVa, b).<sup>23</sup> On a rectangular base with double molding, a horse bearing the god moves to the right with upraised left leg. The lower body of Mên is seen from the side, while the shoulders and the prominent head are placed frontally. Mên wears leggings, a short-sleeved tunic with a banded pattern in the center, and a cape with a looped border across the chest which is fastened by a circular clasp at the right shoulder. On his head is the Phrygian cap, and behind his shoulders a large crescent moon. He holds a patera in the extended right hand, while the left is placed behind on the horse's head.

The piece was made hollow with the use of two molds, one for the front and another for the back side. The latter is very sketchily modeled, and follows only the broad outlines of the figure as seen from the front. On the back is a circular venthole. The fabric is of fine texture, and remains of a white slip are seen on the back. The nose of Mên is slightly chipped, but otherwise the figure is in perfect condition.

Among the numerous monuments representing Mên on horseback, a marble statue from Galatia<sup>24</sup> is especially close in conception to the McDaniel terracotta. In the former Mên holds a pine cone and the right arm is given more prominence, but the posture, the prominent



head, and the manner in which the proportions and structure of the body are distorted are notably similar.

There is in our image, probably intended as a votive offering, a remarkable sense for lively decorative qualities. The round cheerful face of the god seems almost to find an expressive counterpart in the horse's countenance, and there is throughout a tendency to persuade the forms and textures into an even surface of curving patterns of light and shade. Marked by a disregard for internal structure and normative proportions, the piece is almost toy-like in effect. It may be placed in the third century after Christ.<sup>25</sup>

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#### ADDENDUM

On Feb. 14, 1966, Mr. William Young (Head of the Research Laboratory, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) made a spectrographic analysis of the Fogg bronze. His report is here quoted:

"A semi-quantitative spectrographic analysis was made on the bronze Moon God to determine whether the proper left foot was originally part of the figure. The analysis was made using a DC arc and boron-free carbon electrodes. A sample was removed from the bottom of the proper left foot and inserted in a hollow drilled electrode. A sample was also removed from the upper proper left leg and was situated similarly in a carbon electrode. A Bureau of Standards sample was similarly treated and spectrograms were made in juxtaposition. In studying the spectrograms, the following analyses were obtained:

Proper left foot:		Back of proper right leg:	
Cu	75.00%	Cu	75.50%
Sn	4.56%	Sn	4.50%
Pb	20.00%	Pb	20.00%
Zn	0.80%	Zn	0.50%
Fe	0.16%	Fe	0.16%
Ag	0.01%	Ag	0.01%
Ca	0.01%	Ca	0.01%
Ni	ND	Ni	ND
Si	ND	Si	ND
Al	ND	Al	ND
	<hr/> 100.54%		<hr/> 100.68%
ND = not detected			



Plate I



(a) side view



(b) back view

Plate II

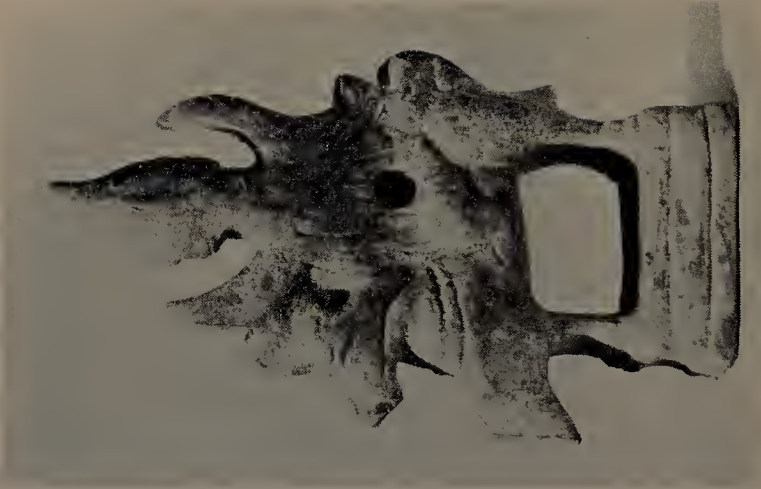


Plate III (front view)





(a) front view



(b) back view

The above analyses strongly indicate that the same composition is present in the body of the figure and in the proper left foot, and prove that the foot was originally part of the figure."

In a letter of February 18 Mr. Young points out that "It is a particularly interesting alloy because of the high content of lead."

## NOTES

My very sincere thanks are due to Professors David G. Mitten and George M. A. Hanfmann, whose encouragement and advice on this brief article were so generously given. I am grateful also to Mr. Thomas Kraabel for bringing Dr. Lane's article to my attention, and to Professor Wendell Clausen.

1. I refer to the series on Mên proposed by E. N. Lane, the first part of which appeared under the title "A Re-Study of the God Mên" in *Berytus* 15 (1964) 5-58.

2. For the relevant bibliography on the character and extent of Mên worship see Lane (above, n.1) 5, 6ff.

3. Acc. no. 1964.126; H. 0.135 m. (5 $\frac{3}{8}$  in.). A hollow, circular base (H. 0.022 m., Diam. at base 0.06 m.) with concave sides and beveled molding at top and bottom came with the figure. Although the scale would seem appropriate, it is impossible to say whether the two pieces originally belonged together.

4. Drexler in W. H. Roscher, *Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, II, 2 (1897) 2763.

5. P. Perdrizet, *BCH* 20 (1896) 103.

6. Drexler (as above, n.4).

7. M. J. Vermaseren, *Vigiliae Christianae* 4 (1950) 50.

8. W. H. Roscher, "Über die Reiterstatue Jul. Cäsars auf dem Forum Julium," *Berichte der k. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 43 (1891) 121, pl. Ia, nos. 1 and 8.

9. For a very similar design of "three ears of corn" found on coins of Ancyra see the British Museum's *Cat. of Gr. Coins* (hereafter referred to as *BMC*), *Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria* (1899) p. 8 no. 2, pl. II, 2.

10. H. Menzel, *Die Römischen Bronzen aus Deutschland*, I (Mainz 1960) p. 5 no. 8 for a stylistically related bronze found along with coins of Julia Mamaea and Gordian III.

11. *BMC*, *Phrygia* (1906) p. 44 no. 1, pl. VI, 5.

12. For slightly variant type outside of Galatia cf. Roscher (above, n.8) 131, pl. Ib, 14, a coin from Prostanna in Pisidia showing Mên flanked by two lions; similarly p. 126, pl. Ia, 19, a coin from Sebaste in Phrygia, but where the left arm appears to rest on the hip.

13. F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen* (Vienna 1902) vol. II, p. 495 no. 1, pl. XIX, 7.

14. D. Krencker and M. Schede, *Der Tempel In Ankara* (Berlin and Leipzig 1936) 40ff, pl. 45, F.

15. Acc. no. I 1897/4.1; H. O. 14 m. Mentioned by the Director W. Pleyte in the *Annual Report 1896/97* pp. 5, 6. I am indebted to Dr. M. J. Vermaseren

who originally informed me of the location of this piece, and to Dr. J. C. Kern of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden by whose kindness I was able to secure a photograph and permission to publish it.

16. Cf. Drexler (above, n.4) 2741ff on a number of bronzes at one time or another thought to be of Mên. The material of the "statuette" in the Sarafian collection, Beirut (Lane [above, n.1] 50), is not given. Dr. Vermaseren informs me of a "statue of a standing Mên" which he saw in Rome years ago and which was reported to have later gone to a private collection in Milan. I have not seen this piece and again do not know its material.

17. Drexler, 2759ff; Roscher, 134ff; Vermaseren, 149ff.

18. Lesky in *RE* 29.696, s.v. "Mên"; Perdrizet, 103; Lane, 35-36.

19. J. Anderson, *JRS* 3 (1913) 275-76, fig. 54; Lane, p. 35 no. 31.

20. *BMC, Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia* (1897) p. 233 no. 1, pl. XXXVII, 3. Mên can also assume this posture wearing the short chiton, *ibid.*, p. 209 no. 11, pl. XXXIV, 5.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 180 no. 20, pl. XXXI, 6.

22. *BMC, Phrygia*, p. 276 no. 4, pl. XXXIII, 7.

23. H. O. 172 m. ( $6\frac{7}{8}$  in.). Published briefly by Sotheby & Co., *Catalogue of Egyptian, Near Eastern, Greek and Roman Antiquities* (May 17, 1965) p. 46 no. 193.

24. L. Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) pl. XXX nos. 3 and 6.

25. Cf. C. Grandjouan, *The Athenian Agora, Terracottas and Plastic Lamps of the Roman Period*, vol. VI (Princeton, N.J., 1961) nos. 280 and 455.

SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE  
OF PH.D. (1965-66)

J. H. D'ARMS — *Republican Roman Villas in Coastal Campani*

BY the end of the Republic, the Campanian towns of Cumae, Misenum, Bauli, Baiae, Puteoli, Neapolis, Herculaneum, and Pompeii had become a preferred setting for the pleasure villas of the Roman aristocracy, a center of fashion and of cultivated leisure. This thesis, a social and cultural study, traces the stages of that historical development: the twofold aim is to identify the Roman owners of coastal properties in Campania, and to account, as fully as the evidence permits, for their activities while in retreat. Since the Bay of Naples is the geographical focus of the thesis, particular attention is paid both to the contacts between Roman proprietors and local residents, Campanian and Greek, and to the social character of the local towns.

Chapter I is a discussion of the first owners of Roman seaside properties, in Campania and elsewhere: P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior (*cos.* I, 205), Liternum; Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispallus (*cos.* 176), Cumae (?); M. Aemilius Lepidus (*cos.* I, 187), Tarracina; L. Aemilius Paullus (*cos.* I, 182), Velia; P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Numantinus (*cos.* I, 147), Formiae, Lavinium, Alba; C. Laelius Sapiens (*cos.* 140), Puteoli, Formiae; and Cornelia, younger daughter of Africanus Maior, Misenum. The earliest villas were properly farm-houses (*uillae rusticae*), and agricultural profit was the owner's primary concern. But by the middle of the second century, allusions in speeches to increased luxury in private building, proof that Scipio Aemilianus and Laelius owned more than one villa, and evidence for a changing, more cultured view of the diversions deemed appropriate for periods of leisure (*otium*) — a cultural change which owed much to Greek influences — show that the first elaborate *uillae urbanae*, built with a view towards the pleasure of their wealthy owners, were beginning to appear.

Chapter II describes the period of concentrated building on the Campanian coast during the first quarter of the first century. C. Sergius Orata, probably of Campanian origin, a speculator in real



estate and the owner of oyster beds near Baiae, sold a house to M. Marius Gratidianus in the early nineties. M. Antonius (*cos.* 99) owned a villa at Misenum; L. Licinius Crassus (*cos.* 95) had a house nearby. The *nouus homo* C. Marius built a palatial villa at Misenum, and owned additional property near Baiae. In the Sullan proscriptions, the former was seized and sold to Sulla's daughter Cornelia at a low price, the latter fell to the Sullan lieutenant C. Scribonius Curio (*cos.* 76): these confiscations are symptomatic of the fate of such properties during the last half-century of Republican revolution. Other supporters (e.g. P. Servilius Vatia, *cos.* 79) and relations (e.g. P. Sulla) of the dictator acquired Campanian estates, and Sulla himself retired to his villa at Cumae, and visited at Puteoli and Neapolis, at least one year before his death in 78. By 74, as a passage of Cicero's *Pro Plancio* (26.65) makes clear, it had become the fashion for Roman grandees to visit their villas in the environs of Puteoli in the spring-time.

An appendix examines in detail and rejects as untenable G. Della Valle's theory (see *Campania Romana* vol. I, Istituto di Studi Romani [Naples 1938] pp. 207ff) that Sulla was the builder of the monumental villa at Posillipo, usually ascribed to P. Vedius Pollio, the Augustan freedman.

Chapter III, for which the speeches and correspondence of Cicero provide abundant evidence, treats of Campanian "villeggiatura" of the last years of the Republic, and of the contrasts of a period in which both leisured luxury and civil turbulence reached unprecedented heights. The chapter is in two parts. Part I is a catalogue, for the years 75-25, of the forty-five Roman owners of Campanian coastal villas or houses; with each entry the ancient *testimonia* for the property are presented first, and then elucidated in a brief discussion. The list, which comprises two generations and includes the most prominent political personalities of the Ciceronian age, is here presented in alphabetical order according to *gentilicia*, and the towns in or near which the properties were situated have been included with each name: C. Anicius, Cumae; C. Antistius Vetus (*cos. suff.* 30), Cumae; M. Antonius (*cos.* I, 44), Misenum; Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer (*cos.* 60), Baiae; L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus (*cos.* 58), Herculaneum; C. Claudius Marcellus (*cos.* 50), Liternum; Clodia, wife of Metellus Celer, Baiae; L. Cornelius Balbus (*cos. suff.* 40), Puteoli; P. Cornelius Dolabella (*cos. suff.* 44), Baiae; P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther (*cos.* 57), Puteoli; Faustus Cornelius Sulla, Cumae; P. Cornelius Sulla, Neapolis; L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (*cos.* 54), Neapolis; M. Fadius Gallus, Herculaneum; M. Fonteius, Neapolis; A. Hirtius (*cos.* 43), Puteoli;

Q. Hortensius Hortalus (*cos.* 69), Bauli; Q. Hortensius, Bauli; C. Julius Caesar (*cos.* I, 59), Baiae; L. Julius Caesar (*cos.* 64), Neapolis; M. Junius Brutus (*pr.* 44), Cumae; L. Licinius Lucullus (*cos.* 74), Misenum, Neapolis; M. Licinius Lucullus, Nesis; L. Lucceius, Puteoli; C. Lucilius Hirrus (*tr. pl.* 53), Baiae (?); Q. Lutatius Catulus (*cos.* 78), Cumae; L. Marcius Philippus (*cos.* 56), Cumae; L. Manlius Torquatus, Cumae; M. Marius, Pompeii; L. Papirius Paetus, Neapolis; Cn. Pompeius Magnus (*cos.* I, 70), Cumae; Sex. Pompeius Magnus, Pompeii; Q. Pompeius Rufus (*tr. pl.* 52), Bauli; L. Pontius Aquila, Neapolis; C. Rabirius, Neapolis; C. Scribonius Curio (*tr. pl.* 50), Cumae, Baiae; Q. Selicius, Neapolis; Servilia, mother of Brutus, Neapolis; P. Servilius Vatia (*pr.* 25), Cumae; Servius Sulpicius Rufus (*cos.* 51), Cumae; M. Terentius Varro, Cumae; M. Terentius Varro Lucullus (*cos.* 73), Baiae (?); M. Tullius Cicero (*cos.* 63), Pompeii, Cumae, Puteoli; P. Vergilius Maro, Neapolis; C. Vibius Pansa (*cos.* 43), Baiae (?).

A general account of villa life in Campania, based on the evidence of the catalogue, follows as Part II. This discussion has two main sections. First, it is shown that frequent deprecations of maritime *luxuria*, directed especially at Baiae, can be supplemented and somewhat corrected by contemporary allusions to the sites, architecture, and attractiveness (*amoenitas*) of Campanian villas, and to the local friendships — with men of finance at Puteoli, or with learned Greeks at Neapolis — which owners of villas enjoyed. Cicero's Campanian letters comprise a unique guide to the meaning of *otium* as applied to villa life on the Bay of Naples. But, as is demonstrated in the second section, the letters also reflect the hazards which made such leisure precarious. During the civil wars villas were confiscated and became spoils; real estate values fluctuated; seaside estates served as places of refuge or gave access to an escape from Italy by ship. These and similar vicissitudes are the subject of the second section of Part II. The chapter concludes with an evaluation of the effects of civil war upon villa life in Campania, a discussion which turns on the differing views of *otium* held by Cicero and his younger contemporaries.

The brief conclusion summarizes the peculiar and abiding attractions of coastal Campania as a setting for the villas of the Roman aristocracy. An index lists the Romans, Campanians, and Greeks discussed in the text; there is also a register of proprietors arranged according to the locations of their villas.

EDWIN F. DOLIN, JR. — *Interpretations of Pindar's Isthmian 6  
and Pythian 12*

In Chapter I the view is presented that what is most significant to Pindar in a victory is the presence of a god. The fundamental vision of an epinician is, consequently, religious. The gods have acted in giving a victory, and a goddess, the Muse, reflects and records their action. The human aspect of the victory is present in the poem as a relation to the sacred, either a relation of closeness or of contrast and distance.

Chapter II begins by showing the central place of the gods in the first strophe of *I.6*. Next comes discussion of a motif, that of "past-present-future." This motif concerns a particularly human situation, that of looking with expectation and apprehension into an unknowable future. Specific embodiments of this situation (which is suggested as the underlying principle of the poem) are the prayer for an Olympian victory (vv. 7-9), the prayer for Lampon's old age and death (vv. 14-16), and the prayer to the Moirai for Lampon (vv. 16-18).

The motif of "past-present-future" and the situation of looking forward into the unknowable appear again in the central triad, where Heracles' prayer for the birth of a son to Telamon is narrated. It is argued that in Heracles' prayer one of the words, "moiridios," is ambiguous, meaning in this context both that a son, Ajax, will be born according to "moira" and also (although the speaker is not aware of this meaning) that the son will have a "moira," a fate, in the ominous sense of the word.

This ambiguity at the center of Heracles' prayer suggests both the happiness and the uncertainty of human life, that is, the happiness that comes from being close to the gods and receiving their gifts and the unhappiness that is fundamental to the weakness of humanity. Ajax, the prayed-for and granted child, will grow up to meet an unpredictable and evil "moira." Ajax, who is the paradigm of comradely loyalty, will die believing himself betrayed by his comrades and friends. This is the "moira" that attends his birth.

In the course of this chapter a type of compound adjective (*εὐάεθλος*, *μελίφθογγος*, *ὑψίθρονος*) is characterized as rare, often limited to Pindar, but based on an epic model. These adjectives have the effect of the familiar in pattern but are different in detail. One reason for the formation of such compounds is that they express a certain quality of Pindar's poetic language. By their presence they show that the language constantly renews itself from an abundance of vitality,

which is the gift of the goddess, while yet keeping hold of the past and continuing the tradition.

A "correspondence" is suggested between *ἀνδρῶν* (v. 1) and *ἀνθρώπων* (v. 10). Other correspondences, noted by previous commentators, are discussed in connection with the principle of the poem, and their function in the expression of that principle is analyzed. These are: (1) *Φυλακίδα νικῶντος* v. 7, *ὁ Κλεονίκου παῖς* v. 16, *Φυλακίδα γὰρ ἦλθον* v. 57; (2) *μελιφθόγγοις* v. 9, *βαρυφθόγγοιο* v. 34; (3) *Μόιρας* v. 18, *μοιρίδιον* v. 46; (4) *ἐν Νεμεῶ* v. 3, *ἐν Νεμεῶ* v. 48.

Chapter III attempts to show that the controlling principle of *P.* 12 is "creation from suffering" or "life from death." This principle underlies a series of images expressing the union of contrasting elements. For instance, Acragas is based on mortality (*βροτεῶν* v. 1) and yet is more than mortal (she receives the poet's prayer). Persephone (v. 2) is both queen of the dead and goddess of fertility. The Gorgons (vv. 7-8) with their violent lament, caused by the death of their sister, are contrasted with Athena, who calmly creates harmony and beauty from the Gorgons' keening. The Gorgons themselves combine maidenhood and monstrosity (v. 9). The sound of their voices (v. 10) flows smooth as liquid (*λειβόμενον*) and yet proclaims grief and pain (*δυσπενθεῖ σὺν καμάτῳ*). The death of Medusa and the Seriphians is terrifying but is described in the language of arithmetic and wit, puns and irony.

The underlying principle, "creation from suffering," is implicit in the myth of Danae and Perseus. Acrisius, Danae's father, knows that if Danae has a son, that son will kill him. He tries to prevent the birth of a grandson by isolating Danae, by in effect burying her. Rather than accept his own death, Acrisius is willing to cause the death of his family, to prevent the succession of the generations. Polydectes, in turn, contributes to the repression of this family. Yet, from mortal danger and oppression, Zeus brings into existence the house of Heracles, and Athena saves Perseus from the Gorgons.

The pattern of the Perseus myth and the pattern of the myth of the origin of the "many-headed" style of music are similar. In both mythic patterns, suffering (Danae, the Gorgons) is followed by a vital and lasting creation (Perseus and the Heraclids, a musical mode) through the agency of a god (Zeus, Athena). Patterns of this type in "primitive" cultures are referred to in the notes.

The same pattern is repeated in the final gnomic sentences (which consequently can be accepted as one with the rest of the poem). Happiness does not occur for mortals without "kamatos," suffering. (This is the same word used to describe the Gorgons' lament in v. 10, the



lament from which Athena created the beauty of the "many-headed" mode of music.)

P. 12 has a circular movement. As it began with a city, Acragas, protected by a goddess, Persephone, and situated beside a river, so, just before the final gnomic verses, comes the vision of another city, Orchomenus, protected by goddesses, the Graces, and situated beside a river, the Cephisus.

Chapter III also discusses, among other words, four compound adjectives of the type already dealt with: rare but modeled on an epic prototype (*φιλάγλαος*, *μηλόβοτος*, *δυσπενθής*, *εὐπάραος*).

The conclusion repeats that the principles of interpretation followed have been two: Pindar's epinicia are religious poetry, and each poem has a unity which can be expressed provisionally in a conceptual phrase, such as "mankind must face the future in ignorance" or "from suffering, creation."

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Degree in Classical Philology 1966

#### CHARLES EMMANUEL FANTAZZI — *The Virgilian Version of Pastoral*

From the very moment of their publication, the *Eclogues* have been subjected to every form of analysis, the most hardy approach probably being the allegorical, which only in very recent times has had to cede in popularity to a numerical, cabalistic exegesis. This dissertation intends to consider afresh these earliest known poems of Virgil as essays in pure poetry written within the conscious framework of Hellenistic precedents. The method of study is necessarily comparative, given the acknowledged dependence upon certain Theocritean compositions. The analysis proceeds from general concepts of form and theme to more minute particulars of individual poems, always with the bias of vindicating Virgil's essential originality in the creation of the pastoral genre as we have come to know it in the tradition of Western letters. Previous comparative studies have often attempted little more than to pair off so-called parallel passages in order to advance the prevalent view that the *Eclogues* are merely *réchauffé* Theocritus. With our clearer notion of what constituted poetic imitation among Roman writers (found to be strikingly similar to contemporary practice), it is possible to consider the *Eclogues* more as a conversion rather than a perversion of their model.

Under the rubric *epē boukolika*, the Suda's designation for Theocritus' bucolic pieces, an attempt is made to discover what common traits distinguish this part of the Sicilian poet's total creation. It is concluded that their essential quality is a mimetic realism, less accentuated than in the true mimes, and transported, as it were, from a staged performance to unrehearsed improvisations in the country. An instance of this kind of parody is the Third Idyll, in which an urban *kōmos* is enacted in rustic surroundings with many resulting incongruities. In view of later developments, the most lasting innovation of Theocritus was the adaptation of rustic amoebean song competitions to these miniatures of country life, while in the singular composition that relates the lament and death of Daphnis he paved the way for the pastoral elegy. In the hands of later epigonists and mannerists, certain directions only vaguely defined by Theocritus were further explored and indeed exhausted. The pastoral decor became a mere adjunct for an effete eroticism in Bion and Moschus and other anonymous followers, until in the end a rural setting, a scattering of shepherd names, and a tale of love sufficed for inclusion in bucolic collections.

The love interest is present also in Virgil's experimentations with Syracusan song, although to a much more subdued degree. One is conscious of various levels of love poetry in the *Eclogues*, the simplest and most unaffected being the short verses tossed off by the shepherds in their poetic competition. Owing to the fiction so ably maintained of the singers' simplicity and their unfailing nature-inspired metaphors and comparisons, a certain artistic naturalness is preserved. This is love poetry of a special sort, whose main concern is formal poetizing and the fashioning of exquisite lines, betraying a certain detachment from the vicissitudes of love. Even in the most frankly amorous poetry of the collection, the story of Corydon's passion for the beautiful Alexis, and in other tales of *indignus amor*, there is a sensed tension between the disquieting promptings of love and the tranquillity of the pastoral. The ultimate confrontation of erotic poetry and the Arcadian existence is explicitly made in the Tenth Eclogue, while in the Sixth the greater themes of the *Eclogues* appear more manifestly.

In a chapter entitled "*Respondent omnia silvae*" there is a discussion of the important matter of the feeling for nature expressed in the two poets. The landscapes of Theocritus, though richly and tangibly drawn, remain subordinated to the human figures in the foreground. Virgil altered this imbalance in creating a poetic Arcadia in which neither man nor landscape is sharply defined, but where both seem to coalesce in a summer haze of indistinguishable forms. Yet for all its

dreaminess and impressionism, the Virgilian pastoral setting has many vivid details of color and contour, and is somehow endowed with a richer existence than the all too real *mise en scène* of the *Idylls*. Nature seems to override all else in the lives of these simple Arcadians, and any momentary disturbances of the sublunar world are resolved in the unchanging and inexorable rhythms of the universe. There is an intimate fusion, an *immedesimarsi* of man in nature, which pervades and gives tone to the whole work. A brief examination of Theocritus' descriptions of nature demonstrates his indebtedness to conventionalized *topoi* bearing the unmistakable impress of Homer, Pindar, and others, together with a smattering of veristic details culled from Alexandrian encyclopedic learning. There is less minute documentation of hillside flora in Virgil, but a more lovingly described, personally known and felt countryside, perfectly integrated with the action and dialogue of each piece, which lends to each a peculiar tonality and structural relevance. It is this oneness of a cosmic vision that informs and vivifies the pastoral mood, a kind of precocious romanticism which should not be confused with that vain striving to regain a lost sensitivity to nature that is known as the pathetic fallacy.

In matters of style and diction, the *Eclogues* forsake their principal exemplar for the more refined and hermetic technique of Callimachus, with this important difference, however, that Roman poetic ideals called for a certain consistency in a given genre rather than the willed diversity and *poikilia* of Hellenistic writers. With no opportunity to reproduce anything like Theocritus' literary pastiche of Doric and other dialects, Virgil effected the tone of his *deductum carmen* by a very careful selection of poetic vocabulary, which he articulated with a series of emblematic words running through the poems. This specialized diction, which deliberately eschews words reminiscent of other poetic styles and conventions, is heightened by Virgil's adept talent for the unobtrusive investing of plain words with high poetic feeling. The well-known Virgilian freedom in the syntax of individual phrases, more familiar to us from later works, is evident also in these poems, and a general complexity of utterance on the part of the shepherds establishes a significant stylistic departure from the artless manner of speech affected by Theocritus' rustics.

The second part of the dissertation takes up in more detail the analysis of individual poems under these headings: *Indignus amor* (II, VIII, and X); *Amant alterna Camenae* (III and VII); *Ludere calamo agresti* (I and IX); *Paulo maiora canamus* (IV, V, and VI). In each case there is an extended comparison with the Theocritean models and an

examination of Virgil's skillful accommodation of scenes, episodes, and even individual lines and phrases from the *Idylls*. Concrete instances of ideas and interpretations put forward in the first part of the study are here set out with more detailed specification.

After holding Virgil up to the mirror of his chief model, one is all the more persuaded that his version of pastoral is no counterfeit of the original, but a vibrant and independent work of its own. In fact, as in the case of Propertius and probably Gallus with love elegy, Virgil gave a more definitive literary existence to a yet inchoate and emergent form. His mind filled with the poetry of his model, he infused his own imitations with a new form and spirit which would become the essential notes of true pastoral.

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Degree in Comparative Literature 1964

### H. C. GOTOFF — *The Textual Tradition of Lucan in the Ninth Century*

A. E. Housman, whose edition of Lucan (Oxford 1927<sup>2</sup>) is for the present standard, reports the readings of only two of the five extant MSS of the ninth century: Paris. Lat. 10314 (Z), Montepessulanus H 113 (M). In this he was forced by his reliance on the *apparatus criticus* of Hosius' third Teubner edition (1913). Of the other ninth-century MSS, Paris. Lat. "nouv. acq." 1626 (A) had been used by Francken (Leiden 1896-97) and Berne 45 (B) by Hosius himself in the Teubner edition of 1892. Montepessulanus H 362 (R) was cited by Beck in his monograph *Untersuchungen zu den Handschriften Lucans* (Munich 1900) but never fully reported. Beck had argued that ABR were all copies of Z and as such superfluous for the editor of Lucan. Hosius, convinced by Beck's arguments, dismissed the three and reported only M and Z fully in the 1913 edition, whence Housman's limitations. Housman demonstrated in his preface that, from the end of the first book of Lucan to the beginning of the ninth, M and Z are independent copies of the same MS. For about three-quarters of the text, then, there is only one ninth-century witness.

A new examination of the ninth-century MSS has not fully confirmed the above results. First, though M and Z may be "gemelli," they are copies of a corrected MS: in about one hundred and fifty places the two MSS disagree in readings which divide the tenth-century MSS of



Lucan. Thus even in the portion of the text where M and Z have the same exemplar, they represent two sources of readings.

Further, though ABR are descended formally from Z, each offers information independent of Z and of each other. Z itself is a corrected MS and is not the exemplar from which A was copied. A can be shown, through significant displacement of lines, to be descended from Z. However, it preserves some traditional readings not found in Z even after correction. It must be assumed that a copy of the corrected Z was itself corrected against another MS before A was copied from the intermediary: A contains some readings of the corrector of the intermediary. B can be shown to be descended from A after correction in precisely the same way that A is descended from Z. In each case the evidence of the MS used to correct the intermediary should be reported in the *apparatus criticus*, as well as the readings of the ninth-century correctors of ZAB.

A also contains the collation of another ninth-century MS. Over eight hundred readings are recorded, introduced into the margins of A by a scribe who worked before the model of B was copied from A. The character of these readings, cited in an appendix to this study, reveals the practice of correctors in the ninth century. Along with traditional variants and corrections, nonsense words are also recorded; but they are misreadings of lections in another MS, dutifully cited as variants. So far, from corrections on extant MSS and the readings which can be assigned to lost MSS used by correctors, the character of more than a dozen ninth-century MSS can be, in part, determined. Though these MSS vary among themselves, they are united in the absence of perhaps twenty percent of the readings which a modern editor would include in his *apparatus criticus*. And, with all the corrections, more than six hundred errors survive from MZ to B.

R is also formally descended from A: this is assured by a displacement of lines in R which can only have originated in A. Yet, R shares with B, from which it cannot descend, a number of significant errors, such as the omission of words and the reversal of word order, not found in A. The only conclusion seems to be that A was copied twice in the same scriptorium, a scriptorium which also contained another MS of Lucan against which the two copies were corrected independently. From these corrected copies descend B and R. But, before R was written, an antecedent MS was corrected against a MS different in character from any of those so far mentioned. It contained the scholia, not found in MZAB, and a number of traditional variants otherwise unattested in our ninth-century MSS. Some of the errors of MZAB

have been corrected, but often their better readings have been replaced with easier ones. With R, the homogeneity of the ninth-century MSS is lost.

For the editor of Lucan, the main conclusion of the study is that none of the ninth-century MSS can be dispensed with. Even though no new superior readings are forthcoming, these MSS offer evidence for the currency of some readings half a century earlier than the MSS to which the readings are assigned in Hosius' *apparatus criticus*. Also, readings which in the editions of Hosius and Housman seem to have been preserved in only one MS can now be shown to have appeared independently in a number of early MSS. The editor will have a better understanding of the transmission of the text of Lucan in the early Middle Ages.

The study of these MSS also reveals something of the habits of scribes and correctors in the ninth century. With all the activity suggested by the relationship of the extant MSS, there is a complete lack of conjectural emendation in MZABR and nothing to suggest that a scribe or corrector would make any change not derived from another MS. The close relationship among the MSS frequently makes it possible to see how a scribe misinterpreted a correction in his exemplar. When such an error results in a Latin word, it need not be reported in an *apparatus criticus*.

As with any study of early MSS, the unqualified evidence of the faithfulness of scribes gives confidence that it is possible to know a great deal about the earliest Carolingian copies of ancient MSS and therefore about the ancient MSS themselves.

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Degree in Classical Philology 1965

MICHAEL HANIFIN — *Archplot as Sphragis in the Plays of Euripides*

μάλιστα· καὶ δὴ πάντ' ἀποσφραγίζεται. (Or. 1108)

The plays of Euripides have seemed singularly various and diverse, and yet his influence has, in fact, been greater than that of any other playwright. The dissertation proposes an answer to this anomaly; its thesis is an elucidation of the single basic structural unit or nucleus which is common to all Euripides' plays and so unique that it might be called the seal of his genius, or his sphragis.

In the introductory first chapter, Theognis' devising of the term sphragis is noted, and the concept of sphragis is defined and elaborated

according to Proust's theory of *phrases-types* or significant recurrent features whose patterns comprise the clue to a poet's inherent structural bent. Following the implications of Proust's method, there are distinguished in the plays of Euripides the six primary and recurrent character types from which all his individual characters were derived, i.e., child, virgin-martyr, violent mother, male disrupter, old man, hero-saviour. These character types are then inflected severally through the seventeen extant tragic plays. To render intelligible the complex of interrelationships involving these primary character types, the crucial element is discerned as a single fundamental and recurrent situation — that in which a mother and child are separated or are threatened with separation. A paradigm of this essential situation and its duplex development and typical ramification is then set forth in the form of an epitome which is Euripides' archplot. As conclusion to the chapter, this archplot is employed as a criterion or canon according to which the seventeen plays are briefly schematized.

In Chapters Two and Three, the seventeen plays are analyzed in detail and construed at length in relation to Euripides' archplot, and the tenor and significance of his characteristic imagery is discussed in terms of its occurrence and specific manifestation in the context of each play. In Chapter Four, the fragmentary tragic plays are schematized according to the criterion of the archplot; the *Cyclops* is construed in relation to the archplot and the fragmentary satyr plays are schematized; the *Rhesus* is then construed for indications of its possible authenticity with respect to the thesis of Euripides' archplot as his sphragis.

Chapter Four concludes with a consideration of characteristic and recurrent Euripidean themes and an examination of the hypothesis that the data of Euripides' biography may be relevant to his intuitive improvisation of the archplot and so may contain the implied *αἴτιον* of his sphragis.

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Degree in Classical Philology 1966

## C. P. JONES — *Plutarch and His Relations with Rome*

### Chapter I: *Plutarch and the Caesars*

This chapter studies the effect on Plutarch of the several emperors under whom he lived.

His early training in rhetoric can be attributed to the revival of Greek culture that Nero encouraged. Plutarch's later views of Nero reflect both an admiration of him as the "liberator" of Greece and moral disapproval.

For the Flavian house, except Titus, Plutarch had a manifest dislike. Against Vespasian he was no doubt prejudiced by the cancellation of Greek liberty and the emperor's feud with philosophers. During Domitian's reign, Plutarch visited Rome in 92, and may have been expelled with other philosophers by the emperor's edict of 93.

His loyalty to Rome unaffected, Plutarch after Domitian's death wrote the majority, and the most important, of his works, and had political connections with Rome. He was priest of Delphi at a time when the emperors were fostering it, and from late evidence it appears that he was made procurator of Dalmatia and given *consularia ornamenta* by Trajan, and put in charge of the imperial estates in Achaea by Hadrian. The fact that at the time of his greatest productivity he was engaged in the service of Rome is of importance for an understanding of his works.

## Chapter II: *Plutarch's Roman Friends*

In the first part of this chapter, Plutarch's Roman friends are discussed both individually and as a group. Mestrius Florus was a consular and a friend of Vespasian; Avidius Quietus and Avidius Nigrinus governed provinces under Domitian, and Nigrinus' son of the same name enjoyed a brilliant career under Trajan; Sosius Senecio was a close friend of the same emperor, twice consul, and held high military commands; Minicius Fundanus was also a consul in this reign, and later proconsul of Asia; Herennius Saturninus, if he is Plutarch's friend "Saturninus," was governor of Achaea and consul; and two of Plutarch's Greek friends, Antiochus Philopappus and Julius Eurycles Herculaneus, were distinguished Roman senators. As a group, Plutarch's Roman friends are largely the successful military men of Trajan's reign, and are connected with the foremost Roman literary circle, which included the younger Pliny, Tacitus, and Martial.

From the works of Plutarch, mainly the *quaestiones conuiuiales*, which must be considered a record of real conversations, it appears that his Roman friends were widely read in Greek literature. The supposition that they only came to know him as governors of Achaea is unfounded: more probably they had been his pupils when he taught in Rome. He became an intimate friend to them, observed their characters with sympathy, and was acquainted with their families. In turn, they mixed



easily with Plutarch's Greek friends by reason of their familiarity with Greek culture, and of the social standing of Plutarch's Greek circle.

### Chapter III: *Greek Society and Roman Domination*

The common view that Plutarch did not welcome Roman domination in Greece is mistaken. Rome traditionally depended for support in the East on the wealthy upper classes, giving them local power and expecting them to preserve the peace. A close study of Plutarch and his Greek friends shows that they belonged to this class and held power and public office in their cities.

Further, Plutarch's political writings were addressed to members of his circle and of this social class, and urged them to cooperate with the Roman authorities and to preserve stability in their cities. As a friend of Roman consulars, Plutarch echoes Roman policy.

This can be shown by comparison of his views with those of Dio of Prusa, a close friend of Trajan, whose speeches bear many resemblances to Plutarch's *Political Precepts*, and suggest that both were broadcasting a political doctrine acceptable to Rome.

### Chapter IV: *The Purpose of the Parallel Lives*

This chapter examines the arguments for and against supposing that the *Parallel Lives* were written with the purpose of reconciling Greeks and Romans.

In writing the *Life of Romulus*, Plutarch methodically rejected historical traditions unfavorable to Rome: unlike some Greeks, he considered that Rome owed her domination to virtue rather than to fortune; and throughout the *Parallel Lives* he comments on the Roman interest in Greek culture.

On the other hand, Plutarch's views on the decline of Rome in the late Republic, though conventional, are very pessimistic; some of his comments on Romans, and especially on the emperors, are hostile; and he does not conceal the fact that certain Romans had been extremely opposed to Greek culture. He also portrays certain Greeks unfavorably. He cannot have intended to make the Romans think more highly of the Greeks or the Greeks of the Romans.

Though Plutarch compares Greeks with Romans in the *Parallel Lives*, the work had a moral, not a political, purpose. The comparative method suits this moral purpose, and is borrowed from the schools of rhetoric. In Plutarch's day, Romans and Greeks were already too close to need reconciliation.

Chapter V: *The Composition of the Roman Lives*

It is a common opinion that Plutarch did little original work in order to compare the *Parallel Lives*, especially the Roman ones, for which he would have had to read Latin.

Plutarch's own testimony in the *Demosthenes* does not show that his Latin was poor. The inaccuracy of his translations could be due to haste. His methods of citation, on the other hand, show that he consulted certain Roman authors directly: in particular, he appears to have read Asinius Pollio in the original.

If his citations of Latin authors are considered on the supposition that he knew them in the original, they are consistent with his biographical purpose. He was interested in the personal utterances of his subjects, in biographies and autobiographies, and in historians who had firsthand experience of the events they described.

Finally, Plutarch could be critical of his sources. He did not rely much on autopsy and hearsay, except in the *Galba* and *Otho*, for which he must have solicited the advice of his friends. But he could effectively balance his literary sources against his own knowledge and against each other. The *Lives*, therefore, granted that they are not history, were written from original authorities and with some care for historical truth.

*Appendixes*

Two appendixes deal with chronological problems. In Appendix I, comparison with a letter of Pliny shows that the *de cohibenda ira* was written after A.D. 93; and the *de tranquillitate animi*, sometimes dated before 79, must belong to the same period because of its reference to Greek senators at Rome.

In Appendix II the evidence for Plutarch's relations with Hadrian is considered. A famous passage of the *de Pythiae oraculis* cannot refer to Hadrian; and works that appear to anticipate reforms made by Hadrian on his stays in Greece do not show that Plutarch personally influenced him. On insufficient grounds, the *an seni respublica gerenda sit* has been dated to 123 or later, and the *amatorius* after 117. Eusebius shows that Plutarch survived to the reign of Hadrian: but he probably died in about 120.

MARSH MCCALL — *Ancient Rhetorical Concepts of Simile and Comparison*

This thesis attempts to understand the ancient rhetorical and critical concepts of simile and comparison by examining the ancient use of terms of comparison from pre-Aristotle to the beginning of the late technical treatises. A particular effort is made to see if there was a separate and distinct rhetorical concept of simile (a kind of comparison but distinguished by its special form). The thesis is divided into eight chapters and a conclusion.

Chapter One considers the pre-Aristotelian testimony, which is of two types: traces of discussions of comparison in technical rhetorical works and the use of terms of comparison in literary works. Theodorus of Byzantium, Polus of Acragas, Theramenes of Athens (or, perhaps, Ceos), and the author (Anaximenes?) of the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* supply what there is of the former type of evidence. It is argued, in agreement with Stegemann, that the works ascribed to the fifth-century statesman-rhetorician Theramenes belong in reality to an unknown Cean sophist of that name who lived perhaps in the third century after Christ. Aristophanes, Xenophon, Plato, Isocrates, Aeschines, and Demosthenes supply the latter type of evidence, Plato far more amply than the other writers. In these writers *εἰκὼν* is the standard term for "comparison" (as well as "likeness" and "image") and refers at times to actual similes.

Chapter Two treats Aristotle. The *Rhetoric* contains two separate discussions of comparison. In Book II, chapter 20, *παραβολή* denotes a comparison which serves as an aid to proof. It is closely allied to historical example, *παράδειγμα*, but differs in that its subject matter is fictional. In Book III, chapters 4, 10, and 11, occurs a fuller discussion of comparison as a stylistic embellishment; the term used is *εἰκὼν*. There are no cross-references between the discussions of Books II and III to suggest that Aristotle saw any kinship between the two kinds of comparison. He thinks of *εἰκὼν* as an entirely subordinate division of metaphor, *μεταφορά*. It is less instructive, and therefore less pleasant, than metaphor because it is more poetic and because it is longer. The latter characteristic of *εἰκὼν* has been taken by scholars to indicate that Aristotle is talking of simile *vs.* metaphor, and support for this view has come from the opening example of *εἰκὼν* at 1406b21, which is a simile. Two of three examples in the following paragraph, however, are not similes but long illustrative comparisons, and the thesis argues

that Aristotle's εἰκῶν signifies all types of stylistic comparison. Simile is clearly one of these types but is not the exclusive equivalent of εἰκῶν. It is suggested that the phrase at 1407a15, καὶ αἱ εἰκόνες μεταφοραὶ λόγου δεόμεναι, is corrupt, and for the last two words an alternative reading, λόγω δὲ σπάνιαι, is proposed. Again at 1413a11 it is suggested that the phrase ὅταν μεταφορὰ ᾗ originally read ὅταν μεταφορὰ ᾗ κατ' ἀναλογίαν (or ἡ ἀνάλογον) ᾗ. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of a possible reference in *On the Sublime* 32.3 to certain views of Theophrastus concerning comparison.

Chapter Three discusses the analysis of comparison in Book IV of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. Two different types of comparison are treated in the book, *similitudo* and *imago*. Both are embellishments of style; neither is connected with metaphor. *Similitudo* is closely related to historical example (*exemplum*), another embellishment of style, paralleling Aristotle's παραβολή and παράδειγμα. *Imago* is treated as an independent embellishment, but it seems certain that the trio of historical example and two terms of comparison was a standard group from Hellenistic times on. *Similitudo* and *imago* differ in purpose and method and are also differently subdivided within themselves. Similes are included among the examples of each. Therefore, neither is treated as a precise equivalent of simile.

Chapter Four considers Cicero's use of terms of comparison in his rhetorical and philosophical works. None of them contains an extensive discussion of comparison. In general, Cicero reflects the same Hellenistic doctrines as *Ad Herennium*. In *De inuentione* (1.30.49) and elsewhere the triad of two terms of comparison and historical example appears. *Collatio* and *imago* are the terms of comparison used in the *De inuentione* passage, but *similitudo* is the most common term throughout Cicero. All three terms are illustrated at times by similes, more often by various other kinds of comparison or illustration. *Collatio* is occasionally presented as a subdivision of *similitudo*. Examples of *imago* clearly show the term to be concerned with personal characteristics and description. The thesis argues that the passage from *De oratore* (3.39.157) defining metaphor (*translatio*) in terms of comparison (*similitudo*), although regarded as spurious by Sorof, Wilkins, Bornecque, and others, is genuine and represents a reversal of the Aristotelian view of the subordination of comparison to metaphor.

Chapter Five treats Greek writers of the first centuries B.C. and A.D., specifically Dionysius Thrax, Philodemus, [Demetrius] *On Style*, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and [Longinus] *On the Sublime*. The sparse, or fragmentary, comments concerning comparison of all these



writers except [Demetrius] are dealt with briefly. Special regret is expressed over a lacuna in *On the Sublime* 37 which seems to have contained a considerable discussion of comparison. G. M. A. Grube's recent arguments for placing *On Style* in the third century B.C. are rejected for the more traditional first century A.D. dating of Radermacher, Roberts, and (in rebuttal to Grube) G. P. Goold. Certain new points of terminology and structure are brought forward in support of the later date. The doctrines of *On Style* are basically Aristotelian. Comparison is a division of metaphor. Two types are discussed, both elements of style. The two terms used are *παραβολή* and *εἰκασία*, the latter a term which seems to be a creation of the first century A.D. For the first time, length is the main criterion of differentiation between two terms of comparison: *εἰκασία* is a brief comparison, *παραβολή* is a longer one. Moreover, *παραβολή* is poetic in nature and should be used sparingly in prose; no restriction is put on the use of *εἰκασία*. A greater percentage of the examples of both terms are similes than in any other ancient critic, but this fact in itself suggests that neither term is thought of as identifiable by its form so much as by its relative length and poetic nature.

Chapter Six considers briefly the elder and the younger Seneca, not as professional writers on rhetoric but as illustrative, in their approach to comparison, of educated men interested in rhetoric. The terminology of such writers is relatively loose and inconsistent. Terms of comparison are quite frequent in the *Epistulae Morales* of the younger Seneca, with *imago*, not *similitudo*, being the most common term.

Chapter Seven deals at length with Quintilian, the ancient critic who most fully discusses comparison. Quintilian recalls Aristotle in that he separates comparison into that which serves as an aid to proof (5.11.22-31) and that which is an embellishment of style (8.3.72-81). In what would seem to be an innovation in ancient rhetoric, however, he applies the same term (*similitudo*) to both divisions. He thus perceives two distinct realms of comparison which should be analyzed separately but which are parts of a single overall concept of comparison. The *similitudo* of proof is closely associated with historical example. Ideally, the subject matter in the two parts of such a comparison should be as closely parallel as possible, and there should be no element of metaphor. At 5.11.24, it is proposed that *rarius esse in probatione illud genus* should be read for *rarius esse in oratione illud genus*. The comparison of embellishment is not restricted in subject matter and use of metaphor, but in oratory the comparative part of such *similitudines* should be more straightforward than the subject part. A division is made between short

and longer *similitudines* of embellishment, but, unlike *On Style*, Quintilian does not use different terms for the two types. At 8.6.8–9 occurs a definition of metaphor in terms of comparison which to some degree parallels the disputed passage in *De oratore* and which, it is argued, supports the genuineness of the earlier passage.

Chapter Eight rounds off the survey by considering the use of terms of comparison in Plutarch, Fronto, and a “sample” late technical treatise, Trypho’s *Περὶ τρόπων*. Trypho illustrates the changes which ancient discussions of comparison underwent when rhetorical criticism ceased to be even remotely literary and became purely technical.

In conclusion, the thesis stresses that the precise form of a comparison is not the central concern of the ancient critics. Their recurring interests are: purpose, method, suitability in prose or poetry, length. Modern usage distinguishes simile as an independent figure of comparison; the corpus of ancient criticism does not.

Harvard University

Degree in Classical Philology 1965

WALLACE EDMOND McLEOD — *The Bow in Ancient Greece, with Particular Reference to the Homeric Poems*

Anthropologists distinguish two chief varieties of bow: the “self” bow, made of a simple stave of wood, and the “composite” bow, built up of a wooden core with sinew backing and horn facing. The latter was the dominant weapon of the Near East for 3500 years; it evolved through a number of stages, which can be traced on the basis of literary allusions, artistic representations, and actual remains of bows. Earliest comes the “angular” bow, attested in Egypt, Anatolia, and Assyria at different periods between 1600 and 500 B.C. It is followed by the Achaemenid and Scythian bows.

Pandarus’ bow (*Il.* 4.105–26) is a poetic fiction; goat horn is too stiff and unyielding ever to have been so used. In an effort to salvage Homer’s reputation, authorities have agreed that the description in some way reflects a composite original. Odysseus’ bow too (*Od.* 21 *passim*) is evidently composite. With what stage are they to be equated? Of the various possibilities, the Achaemenid bow was unknown outside Iran before the sixth century. Miss Lorimer favored a native Anatolian composite bow — a weapon which seems not to have existed. The

current view inclines to the Scythian bow; but it meets a firm chronological obstacle in the fact that the Greeks cannot have encountered the Scythians before 640. On purely historical grounds the prototype of the Homeric bow is most likely to have been the "angular" bow.

An investigation of the fifteen adjectives applied to the bow in early epic provides slight confirmation. Seven are either predicative or casual. The remaining eight are recurrent and may well be formulaic; the regularity of position and usage suggests traditional combinations rather than isolated late analogical coinages. Two adjectives (*ἀργύρεος*, *κλυτός*) are restricted to a single weapon, the bow of Apollo. The remaining six are not individualized, but are generally applicable to any bow in the tradition. None of them need refer to a self bow; none is inappropriate for a composite bow. Two (*μέγας*, *κρατερός*) reveal only that the weapon is suitably heroic. One (*παλίντονος*) is intelligible only of a composite bow; three (*εὖξοος*, *ἀγκύλος*, *καμπύλος*) assume a clearer meaning when applied to a composite bow — the latter two, an angular bow.

Further light is shed by a survey of the bow in Ancient Greece. At no period was it altogether unknown in Hellas. Even so it was evidently much more current among the first Greeks (who arrived at the end of Early Helladic II) than among their predecessors. Its use increased in the Middle Helladic; and in the Mycenaean Age it attained heights of popularity never reached before or after. The bow of these early Greeks consisted of a short wooden stave.

With the "Dorian invasion" it fell into eclipse; unequivocal literary sources establish that the bow was generally neglected in Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic Greece. The Cretans alone continued to be toxophilites right from the Bronze Age; and from 415 on, using their wooden self bows, they won wide renown as mercenary archers. A partial exception is Athens, where archers armed with the Scythian bow were familiar from 530 until 380; some at least were citizens (Thuc. 3.107.1; 5.52.2, 84.1). Elsewhere the neglect was virtually total; until the fourth century other cities of the Greek mainland used the bow only *in extremis* or when fighting other archer folk on the periphery of the Greek world.

If the bow was never really at home in Greece after the fall of Mycenae, the figure of Odysseus and his strong bow, so essential to the *Odyssey*, must antedate that event. But if the composite bow was always alien to Greece, the origin of the Homeric bow itself must be sought elsewhere. Its provenience may be suggested by a review of Greek contact with various oriental archer peoples. In the first place,

since no cultural impulse reached Greece from the east between 1200 and 750, the composite bow must have entered the epic tradition either before or after the Dark Ages. In the latter event, its source was either Northern Syria-Cilicia (which reasserted cultural influence on the Greeks about 725) or Egypt (with which contact was not resumed until after 650). These dates are rather too recent for the bow to enter the tradition and become deeply imbedded in the formulaic language. It would thus seem to be of Mycenaean date. One might trace it to Ugarit, which had the closest ties with Mycenae; but the Ugaritic composite bow is poorly attested. On the other hand, the angular bow is well documented in the Hittite and the Egyptian Empires. But while contact between Hittites and Mycenaeans is negligible, there are demonstrable ties with Egypt. On the whole it seems the most likely source.

An appendix describes all extant ancient Egyptian composite bows; parts of it are based on Howard Carter's unpublished notes on bows from the Tomb of Tutankhamun, and it incorporates notes by D. B. Redford on the hieroglyphic inscriptions on these bows.

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Degree in Classical Philology 1966

CHARLES EDWARD MURGIA — *Relations of the Manuscripts of  
Servius' Commentary on the Aeneid*

After a brief account of background material, the dissertation starts with a description of Codex Leidensis B.P.L. 52, which contains, with some lacunae, Servian comment on the *Aeneid* from 5.92 to 11.262. This manuscript is termed La for purposes of the dissertation, and its Caroline corrector of fifty years later is termed Lb. La is shown to be a quaternion by quaternion copy of a hypothetical manuscript which I term  $\delta$ .  $\delta$  was missing ten quaternions before it was copied. It is shown that from  $\delta$  descend also with pure tradition (sharing  $\delta$ 's lacunae) manuscripts J and K. J descends from  $\delta$  through another hypothetical manuscript which I term  $\epsilon$ .

From  $\epsilon$  descends also A, but through an intermediary  $\zeta$  which has been contaminated from the  $\gamma$  tradition, from which  $\delta$ 's major lacunae were filled in. From A itself descends S. Although there is some evidence that S had available also another manuscript besides A, S provides us with no reading which we cannot obtain with greater



purity and sincerity from some other source: S, therefore, is seen to be of significant value only where A has suffered losses or is illegible.

From  $\zeta$  descends also  $\beta^2$ , a large group of manuscripts associated with Tours.  $\beta^2$  has still further corrected its  $\delta$  tradition to the  $\gamma$  tradition; the resulting text thus has a deceptive appearance of accuracy, but, when  $\delta$  is adequately represented by extant manuscripts, has little authority of its own.

M of the  $\gamma$  group is shown to be strongly contaminated from  $\zeta$  through a source closely related to A, and all the other manuscripts (BPbVWN), though giving us a purer version of the  $\gamma$  tradition, are shown to be able to inherit  $\delta$  readings through  $\zeta$ : they can all inherit them through  $\beta^2$ , or independently of  $\beta^2$ . PbM in particular share the same contamination from  $\beta^2$ .

The  $\sigma$  manuscripts (VWN) are shown to possess mainly a  $\gamma$  tradition, although they are highly contaminated and can agree in error with any tradition, including that of the expanded Servius (DS). There are also a few readings in  $\sigma$  which appear completely independent, though most of its divergences from the readings of the  $\gamma$  manuscripts follow the Servian tradition of the DS manuscripts.

In *Aen.* 3-12 it is shown that the  $\beta^2$  manuscript Pa,  $\sigma$ , and, from *Aen.* 5 on, PbH share a source of contamination from DS. The  $\beta^2$  manuscripts have stronger contamination from DS in the latter half of the *Aeneid*.  $\delta$  was contaminated from DS throughout, though in the first half of the *Aeneid* this contamination is manifested mainly as omissions, in the latter half as interpolations also.

$\delta$  is seen to have an excellent Servian tradition in its own right; the  $\gamma$  tradition is seen often to have condensed and reworded Servius.

I have avoided using the symbol  $\beta$  (which, when  $\delta$  was extant, would equal  $\delta$ ) for any manuscript, because this symbol has been used in the Harvard apparatus for A  $\beta^2$  even where  $\delta$  was not extant and A  $\beta^2$  accordingly had a  $\gamma$  tradition. When  $\delta$  was not extant (due to the loss of its ten quaternions) the tradition of our extant Servian manuscripts is mainly only a  $\gamma$  tradition, except for a limited number of superior readings in  $\sigma$ . The DS tradition, where extant, provides a second source of Servian readings, and this tradition is more likely to be correct against the Servian manuscripts when  $\delta$  was not extant, since DS usually bypasses the condensations in the  $\gamma$  tradition. When  $\delta$  was extant, we have three main sources for the Servian text: the DS tradition (with which  $\sigma$  frequently agrees),  $\delta$  (which can be accurately determined), and the  $\gamma$  tradition (which is distinguishable as that Servian tradition which derives not from  $\delta$ ). The process of determining the

correct reading for Servius is one of purification to the three main traditions, then choosing from them on the basis of the text itself. Any of the three can be correct against the concerted testimony of the other two.

Although most corrections of the Servian text can be made simply by a more judicious choice among extant readings, in two examples I have restored the Servian text by conjecture: in *Aen.* 2.693 (see pp. 192-95 of the dissertation), where there is a major corruption, and in *Aen.* 5.128.7, where *in mare* must be read instead of *de muro*.

Harvard University

Degree in Classical Philology 1966

GREGORY NAGY — *Preliminaries to a New Criterion for a Classification of the Greek Dialects*

(The following summary is in part an adaptation of the introduction to the thesis; abbreviations: ||="morpheme-boundary," {} sets off a symbolized process or relationship, > marks the direction of phonological change, V="vowel," C="consonant," IE="Indo-European.")

From a diachronic evaluation of the ancient Greek dialects in E. Risch's "Die Gliederung der griechischen Dialekte in neuer Sicht" (*Museum Helveticum* 12 [1955] 61-76), the important conclusion emerges that there is only a relatively limited number of dialectal distinctions applicable to a point of time as early as e.g., the Mycenaean era. In fact, the "Übersichtstabelle" on page 75 offers just eight features which would point to divergent developments before ca. 1200 B.C. At the head of this list is the contrast {-τι- : -σι-}, an isogloss which in classical times distinguishes Dorian and West-Aiolian (with e.g., δίδωτι) from Arcadian, Cypriote, Attic-Ionic, and East-Aiolian (with e.g., δίδωσι). Precise phonological conditions for the original change from \*-τι- to -σι- (except after -σ-) in the latter group have not been adequately formulated. Furthermore, from a synchronic evaluation of the dialects where assibilation of \*-τι- to -σι- had occurred, no intrinsic feature seems evident which could motivate this innovation in all its attested manifestations. A plausible inference, then, is that the phonological conditions which had originally prompted {\*-τι- > -σι-} became significantly altered by classical times. It is suggested that the attested -ι- in -σι- had different phonological properties in pre-classical times: to wit, that there was once an alternation {-ι-/-ι-},

conditioned by (1) non-stress/stress and (2) subsequent V/C. An attempt to sketch the specific circumstances of  $\{-\lambda/-\iota-\}$  is submitted in §8 of the thesis, but before that stage could be reached, this basic question had to be accounted for: why is IE  $*y$  in the slot  $-CyV-$  reflected by Greek sometimes as etymological  $*\iota$ , sometimes as  $\iota$ ? This issue in turn raises a still broader one: how was "Sievers' Law" operative on IE-inherited  $*y$  in Greek and in other IE dialects? With the latter problem, which admittedly has many ramifications, were §§1-7 of the thesis preoccupied. Among the results evolved from this part of the investigation are: (1) a reformulation, as applicable to IE  $*y$ , of "Sievers' Law" and "Edgerton's Converse," consisting of a morphological and a phonological facet; (2) a synthetic application of this reformulation to the evidence of Welsh, Old Irish, Sanskrit, Avestan, Old Persian, Latin, and Gothic; (3) a detailed application of the same reformulation to the Lithuanian substantival classes in  $-ia$  and  $-ė$ ; (4) a refutation of the concept of an IE verbal class in  $*-i/yo-$ , and an affirmation for postulating in its stead one in  $*-ye/yo-$ . Granted, the arguments presented in §§1-7 will not always give the impression of moving inexorably in the direction of applications to Greek in §8. Yet the whole purpose is just that: to make a strong case for a new formulation of how Greek  $*-\lambda-$  and  $-\iota-$  were distributed, and on this one issue all the others raised are meant to converge. With such a new formulation, it is claimed that an original phonological motivation does indeed emerge for the innovation  $\{*- \tau \iota - > - \sigma \iota -\}$ : namely,  $*-\tau - > -\sigma -$  (except after  $-\sigma -$ ) when preceding  $\{-\lambda/-\iota-\}$ . And on the basis of this motivation, new perspectives may be gained from the isogloss  $\{-\tau \iota - : -\sigma \iota -\}$ , so that it in turn might justifiably be called a new criterion, as in the title of the thesis here summarized. After a period of depalatalization, however, the original pattern  $\{-\lambda/-\iota-\}$  became homalized to a consistently vocalic  $-\iota-$  in dialectal groups like Attic-Ionic. Thus in the attested classical evidence of the latter, the original phonological motivation for  $\{*- \tau \iota - > -\sigma \iota -\}$  is no longer apparent synchronically. Also in §8, there is presented a detailed correlation of the following crucial patterns of proposed original development:

- e.g. Ionic  $\{*- \tau - > -\sigma -\}$  before  $\{-\lambda/-\iota-\}$ , vs.  $\{*- \tau \parallel \lambda - > -\sigma \sigma -\}$  when intervocalic, as also with the other examples to follow;
- e.g. Boiotian  $\{-\tau -$  remains  $-\tau -\}$  before  $\{-\lambda/-\iota-\}$ , vs.  $\{*- \tau \parallel \lambda - > -\tau \tau -\}$ ;
- e.g. Attic  $\{*- \tau - > -\sigma -\}$  before  $\{-\lambda/-\iota-\}$ , vs.  $\{*- \tau \parallel \lambda - > -\tau \tau -\}$ , because of *Sprachbund*-pressures from neighboring Boiotian.

The above is merely the basic essence of the formulations pertinent to this problem, with numerous underlying phonological details and

arguments here omitted. Lest there be any misunderstanding, however, it is important to stress that  $\{*-τ\|_{\lambda} \rightarrow -ττ-\}$  is not the only possible development in dialects where  $-τ-$  remained  $-τ-$  before  $\{-\lambda/-\iota-\}$ ; rather,  $\{*-τ\|_{\lambda} \rightarrow -σσ-\}$  is also possible in such dialects, though the consecutive stages of its evolution are different from those in e.g., Ionic. Suffice it to note here in passing that the divergent consecutive changes leading ultimately to  $-σσ-$  in e.g., Ionic vs. Argolic, and to  $-ττ-$  in e.g., Attic vs. Boiotian are carefully outlined in §8. Also at this stage of the dissertation, it was possible to apply the reformulation of "Sievers' Law" and "Edgerton's Converse," as evolved for IE  $*y$  in §1, to the circumstance in e.g., Ionic of a morphology-conditioned split development:  $\{*-τ\|_{\lambda} \rightarrow -σ-\}$ , as with μέσος, and  $\{*-τ\|_{\lambda} \rightarrow -σσ-\}$ , as with μέλισσα.

After such an evaluation of the isogloss  $\{-τ\iota- : -σ\iota-\}$  within the contexts of not only the preclassical phonological conditions relevant to it but also other dialectal features directly linked with it, this same isogloss was tested on the Greek evidence of the extant material in Linear B. The tentative conclusion reached is that spelling aberrations sometimes specifically ascribable to particular hands point to the existence of scribes who were native speakers of a  $τ\iota$ -dialect: that is, of a dialect which was nonstandard, or perhaps substandard, from the viewpoint of the  $σ\iota$ -dialect prevalent in Linear B.

There remains to be accomplished in a projected work the extensive application of the dialectal criterion now developed to P. Kretschmer's exhaustive "Der Wandel von  $τ$  vor  $\iota$  in  $σ$ ," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 30 (1890) 565-91. An important consideration will be the problem of whether genuine Aiolian was a  $σ\iota$ - or a  $τ\iota$ -dialect, and contingent historical arguments will be introduced. Related to this issue is the circumstance that in the Homeric corpus, there are compound-formations of the type  $*τερπτίμβροτος$  as well as  $τερψίμβροτος$ , and that the one definite instance,  $βωτιαανείρη$  (A 155), is an epithet of the Thessalian region Phthia, homeland of Achilles; furthermore, the name of Achilles' mother,  $Θέτις$ , reveals the *nom d'action*  $θείσις$ , within the framework of a  $τ\iota$ -dialect (cf. Kretschmer [as above] 571). Another related point in the Homeric tradition is that the grandfather of  $Ὀρσίλοχος$  (E 542, etc.) was  $Ὀρτίλοχος$  (E 547, etc.); from the historical and dialectal standpoints, it is crucial here that the provenience of Orsilochos was Messenian Phera (E 543). The conclusions reached will be applied to an evaluation of what specific dialect the traces of  $-τ\iota V-$  in Linear B might represent, which in turn will lead to a dialectal criterion that reaches back all the way to the Bronze Age.



JOHN PEDLEY — *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Sardis*

The recent excavations at Sardis, together with a reexamination of the ancient sources, have made possible new advances in the knowledge of the political, social, and artistic development of the city. While much remains in a state of flux, new light has been thrown on several problems.

In Chapter I the literary and archaeological evidence for pre-Mermnad Sardis is discussed. The geography and natural resources are described, and what evidence there is from the Chalcolithic period shown to suggest association with the SW Anatolian Late Chalcolithic culture. By the time of Beycesultan Late Chalcolithic 4, however, contacts were developing towards the NW, and in the Early Bronze Age, Sardis perhaps lay within the ambient of the Yortan culture. The end of the Bronze Age is more fully documented: Mycenaean IIIB sherds, found both above and below a destruction level in the deep sounding, suggest that the Bronze Age came to an end *ca.* 1200 B.C. At the lowest level, remains of a wattle-and-daub hut were found, and adjacent to it a pithos reminiscent of jars of Hittite type and containing the cremated remains of an adult.

Theories concerning the political status of Bronze Age Sardis are discussed, the most persuasive of which is thought to be that which would make Sardis a part of the league of the Assuwa, which the Hittite king Tudhaliyas IV attacked. Linguistic affinities are taken into consideration, and examination of Lydian names shows no evidence that the names Sardis and Lydia were used till the middle of the seventh century. It is suggested that prior to that time the city was called Hyde and the land Maeonia, that Hyde and Maeonia were Heraklid-imposed names, and that it was the Mermnads who called Sardis Sardis and Lydia Lydia. Racial and linguistic equation between the Mermnads and the pre-Heraklid kings of Lydia/Maeonia is proposed.

The presence of Greek sherds continuing to the lowest levels enables a beginning for painted Lydian geometric to be set *ca.* 900 B.C.; the impulse for its production came from Ionia: this innovation is not to be associated with any change in dynasty. Conversely, the introduction of burial mounds, funerary chambers, and benches in the middle of the seventh century is assigned to the earliest Mermnads.

The principal value of Herodotos in examining Early Sardis is his dating of the arrival of the Heraklids to *ca.* 1200 B.C.; his story of the removal of Kandaules by Gyges is taken to be a salacious parable, representing the overthrow of one leading family by another. Evidence

for this rivalry between families in pre-Mermnad Sardis is found too in Nikolaos of Damaskos.

Nikolaos' sources are discussed, and his access to texts of both Herodotos and Xanthos substantiated. The character of Xanthos' work is shown to be a *mélange* of the topographical, anecdotal, geographical, and etymological, and Nikolaos' dependence on it proved *inter alia* by the close similarities of content in parts of his Universal History. Nikolaos' reliability as a historian, however, is called into question principally by his handling of the Kyros-Kroisos story, though snatches of truth are seen in his narration of the persistence of struggle between the Daskyliai and the Heraklidai, and in the return of Gyges from the North.

Chapter II is concerned with Mermnad chronology and archaeology. Kaletsch's recent study is discussed first; then the Mermnad kings treated in inverse chronological order.

The evidence of the Nabonidus Cylinder is taken as conclusive proof of the destruction of Sardis and death of Kroisos in the fall (November) of 547 B.C., and the Herodotean 14 years and 14 days of Kroisos' reign taken as canonical. The accession stories, earliest political events, and visits of the sophists are discussed, and the philosophical worth of the Atys-Adrastos story indicated. A chronology for the years of mourning following Astyages' death is proposed, and it is shown that Herodotos confused the initial revolt of Kyros in 553/52 with the death of Astyages, assuming that both events were simultaneous, and that in fact Astyages lived until 550/49.

Alyattes' capture of Smyrna is put in the last decade of the seventh century from the evidence of the Early Corinthian pottery found in the destruction stratum, and the five-year continuation of the war on Miletus, recorded by Herodotos, is set *ca.* 612-607 B.C. The usual objection to identifying the eclipse of May 28, 585 B.C., with the eclipse that terminated the war between Kyaxares and Alyattes is that Kyaxares was then dead. This objection is now removed with the recognition that Astyages did not die until 550/49. The identity of the Kimmerians driven out by Alyattes is discussed, along with Alyattes' other military efforts. A *terminus ante* for the accession of Sadyattes is put at *ca.* 618 B.C.

The death of Gyges is dated to *ca.* 645 B.C. by reexamination of the Assyrian evidence, and the first Kimmerian attack, repulsed by him, to 657 B.C. His accession is set *ca.* 680 B.C. by the evidence of Strabo, and the beginnings of the colonization of the approaches to the Black Sea. The accession stories are examined and operations against the

Greek cities considered. Ardys' reign is discussed briefly, and the partially successful Kimmerian attack on Sardis is set *ca.* 638 B.C. Ardys' attacks on the Ionian cities are assigned to the later part of his reign.

Evidence for the Kimmerian attacks on Sardis has been found in two sectors of the present excavation: the archaeological evidence is examined and found to jibe comfortably with the literary. The exploration of the tomb of Alyattes is described, and the Hipponax fragment referring to the Lydian mounds discussed. The most recent (1964) discoveries within the mound of Gyges are set out, and the interior wall taken to be a *krepis* of Herodotean type: the surprisingly advanced masonry techniques are related either to Egyptian or to Urartian work.

Excavation has shown that Lydian houses were of mudbrick type, and the Vitruvian statement that Kroisos' palace was such a building is accepted; the theory that the Lydians built in marble and limestone for the dead and the gods, and in mudbrick for the living, is advanced.

Lydian wealth and coinage are examined, and the attribution of the beginnings of coinage to Lydia is supported. Questions raised by the problems of coinage and *kapelia* are framed, and Kroisos' part in the development of coinage discussed. Good archaeological evidence for the Persian destruction of 547 B.C. is brought forward from recent excavation.

Chapter III deals with new materials on Hellenistic Sardis, beginning with a consideration of the Ephesos *stele*. The *stele* is dated by consideration of the letter styles, and relations between Ephesos and Sardis *ca.* 300 B.C. are discussed. Impressive priestly power in Sardis is postulated, the Sardian criminals' motives are examined, and the names of the miscreants are considered in the light of the Hellenization of the city. The relation of the sanctuary of Artemis, mentioned in the decree, to the Hellenistic temple is examined, and the temple itself considered to have been dedicated in the last decade of the third century, largely on numismatic and epigraphic evidence. The coins from the basis-hoard are taken to be a votive deposit, and the Mnesimachos decree redated, by analogies with recent epigraphic finds, to the last quarter of the third century. Hence the Ephesian-founded *hieron* was an earlier sanctuary than the Seleucid. Religious contact between Ephesos and Sardis went far back.

The Matis *stele* is next considered, both in the light of the development of letter styles at Sardis, and of the Hellenization of the city. The barred *theta* was certainly used in the middle of the third century, and the Hellenization was progressing. The history of Sardis in the third

century is rapidly sketched from numismatic evidence and that of the literary sources and epigraphy. Seyrig's view that it was under Attalos I that Sardis first coined her own money is accepted; Achaïos' usurpation of the Seleucid power in Asia Minor and his siege and death at the hands of Antiochos III are traced: the archaeological evidence for the destruction of the city by Antiochos' army is recorded.

Most stimulating and informative are the four new Hellenistic inscriptions recovered from the synagogue in the season of 1963. Two are parts of letters from Antiochos III to the people of Sardis, one is an honorific decree, and one a letter from Queen Laodike together with a decree of the people of Sardis. Two are precisely dated to the year 214/213 B.C. and are hence invaluable for any evaluation of the development of letter styles at Sardis. Two are concerned with the *synoikismos* of the city after a destruction (presumably that by Antiochos III's army) and mention elaborate measures. The honorific decree is in favor of a distinguished Sardian and voted by the *demos* and *boule*. The letter from Laodike is a gracious acceptance of honors voted her by the citizens of Sardis.

These inscriptions lead us to see a now fully developed political constitution in Sardis in 213 B.C., the pattern of which is very Greek. There are *boule* and *bouleutai*, *demos* and *strategoï*, and a *tamias*. The Hellenization of the city is complete. All the names of Sardians are Greek; the inscriptions are written in Greek for all to read; the city had a theater and a hippodrome.

The inscriptions are, by analogy, invaluable for redating the Mnesimachos decree: they tell us of the existence of a Hellenistic Metroon and give us blocks of its *parastas* or *parastades*: they mention two hitherto unknown festivals in Sardis.

Yet, much remains to be done, and especially we hope for the discovery of enough material from the Persian levels to make possible the writing of a continuous history of Sardis.

Harvard University

Degree in Classical Archaeology 1965

HUGH EDWARD PILLINGER — *Propertius and Hellenistic Poetry:*  
*The Narrative Elegies*

This thesis undertakes to examine one aspect of the literary background of Propertius — his relationship to Hellenistic Greek poetry, and more precisely, to the poetry and poetic principles of Callimachus.



The study focuses upon certain of the elegies of Propertius which are conceived after the pattern of mythological narratives in Hellenistic poetry and cast primarily in an objective mode in contrast to the subjective attitude customarily prevailing in Roman elegy. These narrative poems with their affinities in style and technique to Greek example form a particularly appropriate point of reference for discussion of the literary background of the poet, and they reflect an important bias in his work. Already in evidence in the *Monobiblos*, Propertius' inclinations toward a more objective and impersonal approach to elegy are increasingly apparent in the subsequent books. They find their fullest expression in the poems of Book 4 conceived along Callimachean lines.

Toward the end of his poetic career Propertius styled himself the Roman Callimachus. One purpose of the present study is to set Propertius' remarks about Callimachus in a more meaningful context and thereby to suggest that the adoption of Callimachus as a literary model may possess for the Roman poet greater personal relevance and a wider significance than is sometimes assumed. This and related problems dealt with in the thesis are set forth in the introductory chapter.

Chapter Two surveys Propertius' remarks on the subject of poetry in an effort to demonstrate that his conception of himself as a poet and his critical reflections about his art highlight a significant dimension of his literary background and interests. In his articulate approach to his craft, his concern with literary criticism, his self-conscious, intellectual preoccupation with the art of poetry, Propertius is shown to be an heir of traditions endorsed by Catullus and the new poets, but derived ultimately from Hellenistic and predominantly Callimachean sources. The examination of his critical statements indicates that the tendency to analyze his craft of poetry and to seek a stylistic legitimation for his verse appears early and remains an abiding feature of Propertius' approach to poetry.

In the third chapter several examples of Propertian narrative elegy are discussed in some detail. The discussions focus attention on qualities peculiar to the art of Propertius, as well as motifs which he shares with the Hellenistic and neoteric traditions of poetry. Particular emphasis is placed upon the style of these narratives — both in points of technical detail and in broader aspects of tone and manner. The narrative of Hylas appearing in the *Monobiblos* (1.20) reveals the extent of Propertius' acquaintance, even at a relatively early date, with the style and technique of Hellenistic and neoteric narrative poems. A later elegy, the legend of Dirce and Antiope (3.15), is chosen to illustrate Propertius' narrative style at a more developed stage. In comparison

with the serious and literal presentation of the Hylas narrative, the Antiope poem displays effects of considerably greater sophistication and artifice appropriate to Propertius' increasing interest in Hellenistic narrative technique. The story of Tarpeia (4.4) documents a different aspect of the poet's literary interests. An analysis of this narrative shows Propertius adapting to elegy the conventions of the Hellenistic-neoteric "epyllion" narratives in evident imitation of the impulse familiar in Hellenistic poetry to transpose inherited genres to a new context.

Chapter Four deals with the narrative elegies in the fourth book of Propertius and attempts to define more precisely the Callimachean inspiration of the book. An introductory survey of the style and contents of the book is designed to suggest that the work is "Callimachean" in much more than an aetiological sense. Certain broader and more profound areas of contact with Callimachus and the traditions of Hellenistic poetry are to be found in the wider poetic perspective informing the book, the artful variety of the contents, the substantial enlargement of the dimensions of Roman elegy through the assimilation of diverse poetic *genera* to the elegiac form. Three of the narrative elegies in Book 4 are then examined in detail for specific points of resemblance with the poetry of Callimachus. The Vertumnus poem (4.2) is shown to possess similarities in its formal design with several of Callimachus' *Iambi*. A study of the narrative of Hercules and the Bona Dea rites (4.9) traces the influence of Callimachean artistry on the form and manner of the Propertian poem. Propertius' hymnic celebration of Hercules is interpreted as essentially a playful effort conceived in the spirit of Callimachus' own hymns and executed with the same unusual sense of perspective. The example of the Callimachean hymn to Apollo is suggested as a likely source of inspiration for Propertius' execution of the panegyric narrative on Actian Apollo (4.6).

A brief concluding chapter draws together the major lines of inquiry in the thesis.

Harvard University

Degree in Classical Philology 1966

ILANA D'ANCONA PORTE — *The Art and Architecture of Palestine under Herod the Great: A Survey of Major Sites*

Under Herod's energetic rule (37-4 B.C.) Judaea became a prosperous country, with the most stable and efficient government it was ever to have, in the turbulent years ahead. He did more than any other ruler

in Palestine to embellish his realm (as well as towns outside his own territories) with his ambitious and monumental building projects. And it is in this respect that he came nearest to emulating his patron Augustus.

The extensive building programs of Herod the Great were primarily characterized by the boldness with which he transformed the terrain to suit his grandiose plans. As far as possible he made use of the underlying ruins on each site. In addition he transported large amounts of soil from elsewhere to level out the vast terraces on which the major buildings stood. For the most part, however, the building materials were largely derived from his own quarries and fashioned by his own workmen or those whom he imported from Rome. But just as Herod did not hesitate to rob from earlier structures, so his own monuments were later to be plundered by the Roman builders who followed him; hence arise many problems for the exact dating of the surviving buildings.

Samaria, an important pagan city during the Hellenistic-Roman period, was a prime example of Herod's attempt to Hellenize his realm and a highly suitable location for him to build one of his most strategic fortress-cities, while at the same time affirming his loyalty to Augustus. Herod completely altered the site by rebuilding and enlarging the city on an imposing scale, despite the difficulties of constructing on such hilly terrain.

Roughly contemporary with his building operations at Samaria was his elaborate rebuilding of the postexilic Temple at Jerusalem, the re-fortification of the citadel, and the construction of various other public buildings — all of which are described by Josephus. Indeed the most important extant structures are Herod's towers and the substructure walls of the present Haram esh-Sherif, which clearly belong to Herod's Temple.

Jericho was Herod's winter capital and one of his favorite resort sites, as well as an important civic center. Here were excavated an unusual group of large opus reticulatum buildings and other structures that were probably contemporaneous. Considering the imposing aspect of the buildings and the different functions that each of them served, we may assume that they complemented each other and thus belonged to the same architectural complex.

The extensive excavations at Masada, Herod's palace-fortress overlooking the Dead Sea, have established the identity of the Northern and Western Palaces. Most of the buildings, surrounded by the case-mate wall, are concentrated in the northern area of the summit, and

include a large storeroom complex and the best preserved public bath-house — one of the earliest and largest — so far discovered in Palestine. There are also a number of smaller palaces and other structures. Masada was in actuality equipped like a town, perhaps even as a provisional capital. In fact Josephus' description of this fortress calls to mind the upper city of Pergamum and acropolises elsewhere. Indeed the purpose of Herod at Masada and of the kings of Pergamum was the same: to construct a spectacular set of buildings on a high and dramatically situated site.

South of Jerusalem Herod built one of his greatest palace-fortresses, Herodium, which was distinguished from the others in being not only a lavish royal palace but also his mausoleum. In its layout Herodium appeared to be a town; and Herod's ambition is evident in his choice of the site, which afforded a magnificent view of the region, as well as in the great expense and labor involved in providing the fortress with water.

Herod also founded the large city Caesarea, where he built an artificial deepwater harbor which was surpassed only by Piraeus, according to Josephus. The most dramatic discovery made in the Herodian town was that of the theater (including the unusual painted plaster pavement). Josephus attributed it to Herod, who first introduced the theater in the Palestinian world; and the monument at Caesarea is in fact the oldest surviving example we have in the Near East.

It is remarkable to note Herod's relatively conservative tastes in his wall decorations, evident primarily in the predominant imitation of the first Pompeian style. But in the mosaic floors we find the more characteristic aspects of Herodian art, i.e., in the blending of Oriental and Hellenistic traditions; it is a phenomenon which, starting with the age of Herod, becomes increasingly prevalent in the art of Palestine. In general it may be characterized as a sober version of an essentially eastern Hellenistic art, consciously and directly influenced by certain monuments of the Augustan period, including Roman regal art with its concomitant political and allegorical implications.

The effective Hellenization of the Jews in the Augustan period, particularly among the upper classes, who adopted the language, way of life, and habits of the Greeks, is reflected in the architecture as well as in the pottery; but this process had already begun in the other arts. Nevertheless the major centers of artistic activity at this time were naturally located in the palace-fortresses and various public monuments built by the king. They are among the finest examples of Greco-Roman art and architecture in the Palestinian world.



Although he tried hard to conciliate, and become one with, the people whom he ruled, Herod remained always the outsider. But notwithstanding his personal isolation and the resistance he encountered, he clearly succeeded in intensifying the process of Hellenization in his country. In this respect his monuments mark a crucial divide in the history of Jewish art. For in making the Jewish population accept the Hellenistic-Roman traditions as a possible vehicle for their artistic expression, Herod created a new setting for their lives and significantly affected the future of Palestinian art and architecture.

Harvard University

Degree in Classical Archaeology 1966

DAVID O. ROSS, JR. — *Catullus' Poetic Vocabulary and the Roman Poetic Traditions*

This study of Catullus is divided into two parts, each of which is an attempt to restate, clarify, and answer on a new basis certain questions about his poetry which have not previously received proper attention. The first part deals with Catullus' poetic vocabulary and its distribution in the three parts of his work (the polymetric poems 1-60, the longer poems 61-68, and the epigrams 69-116) and forms the basis for the questions raised in the second part concerning the relation of the three groups of poems to each other and to the literary traditions in which they were written.

Previous work on Catullus' vocabulary has, for the most part, been confined to the compilation of lists of archaisms, colloquialisms, and the like; such features may be found throughout the poems, and the lists do not suggest any differences between the three groups of poems. However, any archaism or colloquialism may also be a particular poeticism, and a study of the poetic vocabulary and its distribution can reveal distinctions of poetic purpose in the three groups. B. Axelson's *Unpoetische Wörter* (Lund 1945) has been the guiding principle for the definition of poetic vocabulary in this study, and his method has generally been followed. There is too little of Catullus' poetry to permit any weight to be given to the occurrence of most single words (nouns, adjectives, verbs) even when they may safely be labeled poetic: the discussion is thus confined to the occurrence and usage of common particles, prepositions, and conjunctions (*ac/atque*, *nec/neque*, *e/ex*, *o!* and *a!*, *-que -que*, *-que et*, etc.) and to certain types and classes of words

(such as compounds and diminutives, adjectives in *-osus* and *-eus*, geographical and mythological proper names), all of which occur frequently enough in Catullus and other poets to allow definite observations to be made on their use and purpose in Catullus and their place in the development of Latin poetic vocabulary.

The evidence in every case suggests that what may be called poetic vocabulary and usage is confined to the polymetrics and longer poems: only a certain few of the epigrams admit poeticisms, and Catullus did not feel free to introduce epic or neoteric features of vocabulary into this group of poems.

Confirmation of this distribution is given in the second part of the thesis by an examination of metrical features and poetic word order (attribute and substantive collocation in the line) in the longer poems in distichs (65–68) and the epigrams proper. The hypothesis is advanced that, if the polymetrics and longer poems represent Catullus' neoteric poetry and the epigrams proper are alien to neoteric innovation (as is suggested by the first part of the thesis), then any features of metrical practice and word collocation which can definitely be demonstrated to have originated with (or to have been exploited by) the neoterics must also occur in the longer elegiac poems 65–68 but will not be found in the epigrams 69–116. Such is the case: the longer poems in distichs are similar in details of meter and word order to the neoteric masterwork in hexameters (64), but in the epigrams proper neoteric practice is observable only in the same few poems (obvious experiments) in which poetic vocabulary had appeared. Scholars have long condemned the "roughness" of the epigrams, but in these poems (as opposed to the longer distichs 65–68) Catullus almost willfully ignores a long tradition of poetic refinement culminating in the technical finesse of the New Poetry.

An examination of the Roman poetic traditions offers an explanation. The five epigrams of Aedituus, Licinus, and Catulus are found to be entirely "amateur" in the sense that they too ignore the technical development and refinement of serious poetry; they are influenced by Hellenistic epigram only in subject matter, not in style (they are loose adaptations of Greek originals rather than translations). An attempt is made to date the beginnings of this interest in Hellenistic epigram at Rome to 150 B.C. (instead of the usual *ca.* 100 B.C.). This establishes an active tradition of such epigram three or four generations before Catullus wrote, and its widespread popularity is deduced by a study of some neglected amateur epigrams from Pompeii (*CIL* 4.4966–73) which show the same characteristics. Catullus in the epigrams 69–116

thus followed a long-established and widespread tradition of amateur epigram which had ignored technical poetic developments and was influenced by Hellenistic epigram only superficially. The influence of invective epigram can also be observed, and here too the tradition, as far as it can be seen, is "amateur."

A comparison of the meters and vocabulary of Laevius with the polymetrics of Catullus suggests completely different sources and purposes for each poet, and the case for Laevius as a neoteric (or even a forerunner of the neoterics) is dismissed. The argument that Alexandrian poetry first arrived in Rome with Parthenius of Nicea is thus given additional support: Catullus and the neoterics were the first to have understood Alexandrian (Callimachean) principles and to have developed a comparable verse technique in Latin. For Catullus, however, this was possible only in the newer forms, the polymetrics and the longer poems; in the epigrams proper he continues the older amateur tradition.

A close connection in purpose and spirit is thus established between the polymetrics and the longer poems. The epigrams are shown to be free of the technical innovations of the New Poetry; even 76, often considered a fully-developed elegy, is foreign in technique to neoteric principles. It is suggested that Augustan elegy thus finds the ultimate Roman origins in the longer distichs of Catullus, probably through Gallus as intermediary, and owes little or nothing to the epigrams proper.

Harvard University

Degree in Classical Philology 1966

JAMES W. SIMONSON, C.S.C. — *Codex Harvardianus Horati: A Study of Ms. lat. 199* (Q. Horati Flacci Opera Omnia) in the Houghton Library, Harvard University

In 1950 Mr. Stephen Phillips presented to Harvard a handsome codex of the complete works of Horace. This manuscript, once part of the monumental collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, has been partially studied in paleography seminars since its acquisition, but it was never entirely collated and examined in detail. The aim of this dissertation, therefore, was to undertake such an examination in order to determine the place of the codex in the text tradition of Horace and to ascertain, if possible, its date and origin.

After a description of the codex and a brief summary of work done on the text tradition since the edition of Otto Keller and Alfred Holder, the manuscript is examined in the light of secondary criteria for deter-

mining its relation to other manuscript groupings. These criteria (order of the works, titles, division of the poems, scholia) seem to locate the Harvard codex in the group called Class III by Keller and Holder (Class  $\Psi$  in Friedrich Klingner's Teubner edition). The scholia of *H* belong basically to the collection attributed to Pomponius Porphyryon. At times they reproduce this commentary verbatim. More frequently they are a condensed or slightly modified version.

Examination of the readings themselves led to the conclusion that *H*'s text indeed has a substratum from Class III, but it was immediately evident that, as in most Horatian codices, there has been extensive contamination from other groups. In *H* most of these readings seem to derive from Class I (Klingner's *Q*). This contamination is so extensive that it was impossible even to relate *H* with any degree of certainty to individual codices or to smaller groupings within the classes.

Since there is no internal evidence for the date of the codex, criteria such as punctuation, abbreviations, and the general character of the script had to be employed. The punctuation and abbreviations are those universally found in the period 850–1050. Several features suggest a date late in this period. This impression was confirmed by the characteristics of the script itself when compared to other codices clearly dated by internal evidence or by the judgment of authorities in paleography.

The problem of origin was even more difficult, and the evidence is at best tenuous. Professor B. L. Ullman once suggested that the manuscript came from Germany; comparison with German codices of the period makes this seem to be a plausible hypothesis. In view of the lack of solid evidence, however, this is offered as only a tentative suggestion.

Finally it should be added that the Harvard manuscript presents no new readings that can be defended with confidence. It is not, however, an unworthy witness to the text of Horace, for the contamination which makes its classification so difficult often resulted in the correction of erroneous readings and consequent improvement of the text.

Harvard University

Degree in Classical Philology 1966

ROBERT DALE SWEENEY — *Prolegomena to an Edition of the Scholia to Statius*

The introductory chapter of this thesis discusses the history of the printed editions of, and scholarship on, the commentary of Lactantius Placidus to the *Thebaid*, the anonymous scholia to the *Achilleid*, and



the *Super Thebaiden* of, or ascribed to, Fulgentius Planciades. There follows an annotated list of the manuscripts of these three commentaries, indicating which are of value for the construction of the text, as well as a list and tentative classification of the manuscripts of other, medieval and Renaissance, commentaries on the *Thebaid* and *Achilleid*, and of the manuscripts of these works which, upon examination, proved to contain scholia and glosses not useful for the text, as being derived from other sources.

The lists of manuscripts having been determined, the thesis proceeds to a consideration of the relationships between them. In the case of the commentary of Lactantius Placidus, the text of 3.205-386 was collated for all known manuscripts. It is shown that all but one of the Renaissance manuscripts, most of which were previously unknown, derive from a single source, which can be demonstrated, from their kinship to a known tenth-century manuscript, to have been in all probability a manuscript of the tenth century. A stemma of these manuscripts is constructed, as well as a stemma of the early printed editions, which are all shown to be derived from the *editio princeps* of Boninus Mombritius of ca. 1473, which in turn was based on one of these manuscripts. The edition of Friedrich Lindenbrog of 1600 is also shown to be derived from the *editio princeps*, with a text slightly corrected from two manuscripts: one, the Regius (which was not the same as the Pb of the Teubner edition of Richard Jahnke), of the same family as the Renaissance manuscripts; and the other, the Pithoeanus, now apparently lost, representing a somewhat better tradition not derived from this same family.

The archetype of the Renaissance manuscripts was then compared with earlier manuscripts, and a stemma was constructed. The archetype of all known manuscripts can be shown to have been a manuscript, probably of the eighth century and possibly in Insular script, whose commentary was taken from scholia in the margins of a manuscript of the *Thebaid* derived ultimately from a continuous commentary composed in late antiquity. Attempts to connect the history of the commentary with that of the *Thebaid* show that the history of the text of the *Thebaid* related by Alfred Klotz in the introduction to his Teubner edition is based on inaccurate information and untenable assumptions.

The anonymous scholia to the *Achilleid* were then collated entire in all known manuscripts, and a tentative stemma constructed. What is determinable about the history of this text seems similar to that of the Lactantian commentary, indicating a possible parallel transmission after a prearchetypal edition of the *Thebaid* and *Achilleid* with marginal

scholia, for which, in early Carolingian times, since these scholia have no claim to be ancient, the *Achilleid* scholia were probably composed.

It can also be shown that the manuscript from which Rudolf Helm first published the *Super Thebaiden* ascribed to Fulgentius Planciades is not a *codex unicus* and that the archetype of the manuscripts of this work was a manuscript in very early Caroline minuscule, which had probably undergone some physical damage.

There is a *specimen criticum* of Lactantius Placidus 3.205-386 with full apparatus, a list of past editions, and a bibliography of works relating to these scholia and commentaries.

Harvard University

Degree in Classical Philology 1965

JOHN B. VAN SICKLE — *The Unnamed Child: A Reading of Virgil's Messianic Eclogue*

*Irrita*, someone observed, is the poem's most important word. A test of the hypothesis led first to Catullus' Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, imitated in its use of *irrita* and in other matters. Then other poets and genres manifested themselves until the Eclogue appeared as a stylistic, lexical tour de force, now epic, now vatic, didactic, ritual even, but one that maintains formal tension by referring all growth to the conventions of bucolic (4.1). *Irrita* took on a larger sense, representing the process that recalcitrant matter of every sort undergoes, assimilated by an expanding pastoral, poetic idea. In the Eclogue's own terms, *omnia* become *irrita* by a smile, *risu*, which is the principle of this poem.

Eclogue Four initiates growth in pastoral to benefit and please a consul. None of its immediate predecessors defined a comparable poetics, Virgil himself drawing back in Eclogue Six from a like *démarche*. Alone, Four would amplify pastoral's ideal, natural *siluae* in concretely historical, public terms (4.1-3).

The proem continues, using language contemporary, traditional, literary, philosophical, and reflecting current fears, thought, hope. *Iam*, the poem's second most frequent word, sketches a great, present occasion (4.4-7).

Pollio appears, not part of this present, but as authority, agent, and patron of a future imagined to grow out of it, when the golden age would begin and advance everywhere (4.11-14).

Finally, when the age's growth was complete, a hero would rule, *more maiorum*. This image confirms a new manifestation of *diui prae-sentes* in Roman history, both reflecting thus and shaping nascent Augustan symbolism (4.15-17).

The poem's center (4.7-10) invokes Lucina for a child just now being born: *modo nascenti*, i.e., *iam*, in the great occasion, poetic present. Virgil predicts not birth but miraculously transforming growth to be followed by conserving rule.

The growing boy would act *risu*, imitating and imitated by nature and society. As Virgil expresses it in general, mythical terms, the boy smiling would induce an exchange of *ferrea* for *aurea*: *quo . . . primum/ . . . ac . . .* (4.7-8). First iron leaves off as gold springs up by an implicit transmutation.

In particular, traces of calamity and of deceit (4.13, 31) would be rendered *irrita*, little by little, from the first smile. Rising transmuted as the newly golden, they would free the lands from fear (4.13-14), bringing the child's rule nearer. Matter, as in the accounts of Lucretius' universe, would be conserved, but now *irrita* with new form.

The child needs no conventional name to play this part. On the contrary, every name proposed bears connotations either inadequate, incongruous, or simply gratuitous when applied to the complex symbol of birth and instrumentality: *nascenti* in the foreground; *quo* visionary inference; *risu* concretely universal. What baby, if any then, caught Virgil's fancy, must remain a minor issue. His language — historicizing, mythopoeic — gives the illusion of circumstance, reflecting on Pollio and Octavian, and of ideality, replying to Catullus and Lucretius and capable of speaking to Eusebius and Dante. What we must recognize is the birth of a myth, perfect in new form, elusive if pressed for material origins.

Apollo and Diana shunned the wedding of Achilles' parents; the Parcae predicted him a terrorizing, violent life after which, Catullus says, the iron age set in. Virgil now, at its close, claims the authority of the Parcae for a new version of fate (Macrobius noted the echo), with a hero who frees from fear and Delian auspices. Virgil imagines history retracing: Achilles' heroism recurring, but now as prelude, not successor, to the golden, and about to be rendered *irrita*. Catullus overdrew his ideal of heroic concord — *nimis*; but elements of his heroism recur, transformed, amplifying pastoral into Roman harmony.

Alone of the Eclogues, Four speaks didactically, to an audience; Tityrus instructed only trees. It ends with five teaching, parainetic imperatives: *adgrederere! aspice! aspice! incipe! incipe!* Yet the child is no

Memmius; for only by attending to poetry could he also serve *communi saluti*. He unites what was antithetical in Lucretius: public with the philosophical and poetic. Lucretius' multiple *formamenta* in endless *discidia* and *concilia*, his long *certamina mundi* of rough, particular action — *paulo maiora lacessunt* — reflect no doubt the experience but do not coincide with the official verbal formulas of late republican Rome. By contrast, Virgil's language is official, *consule*, embodying a single, universal idea, *incrementum*, posited in poetry: *paulo maiora canamus*. He captures what had been parallel perhaps in imagination but separate and alienated from their own time, and changes republican diversity for a proto-Augustan universe.

In rhetorical *incrementum*, says Quintilian, *singula incrementum habent*. The *singula* of Eclogue Four are a notable instance, among them Virgilian nonce words and rare and exotic, Greek, technical, and affective terms: e.g., *Sicelides*, preferred to Σικελικαί or *Sicaniae*; prosaic, Lucretian *paulo*; and *incrementum*, abstract, technical, meaning instrument, process, or product in materials as diverse as agriculture, politics, linguistics, rhetoric and used here almost for the first time in Latin. It represents the child as product, born like a hero, of Jove, but also potentially as instrument of his reforming presence: *quo . . . Iouis omnia (futura) plena*.

At another place, Quintilian describes *incrementum* as running *et ad summum non peruenit nisu sed impetu*. Or again, he says that it goes not just to a climax but *supra summum*, indicating what is beyond, where words are lacking. These forms delineated by Quintilian curiously illuminate the Eclogue's form.

Virgil contrives to speak during and just after parturition. *Fastidia* estranging mother from child is a final, insuperable hint of toil, *paulo* a material restraint felt at the outset. Otherwise, the poem grows *impetu*, by means of seven renewed thrusts, accumulating, multiplying poetic energy and scope. The first, *Sicelides*, leads in turn to *consule* (1/2–3 verses). Then *iam* and *noua* prepare for *nascenti* and *puero*, whence *quo* expands to universal myth with vast presumption on an instrumental ablative (7 verses). A second prophecy then articulates, amplifies, and resolves polarities of the first; the ideal of *diius praesens* unites Greek and Roman, ideal and historical, past and future (7 verses, 4.11–17).

The poem's center, its fifth and longest increment, takes up prophecy again, amplifying and articulating still further, assimilating natural, cultural, and technical processes along with heroic myth. At its climax, all civilization and culture conform to the child. Nature, *sponte sua*, imitates and surpasses human arts (28 verses).



Now the poem redoubles intensity by returning upon its form, paralleling its own initial stages. At the center of a seven-line section, *incrementum* occurs, the only spondaic ending, in the forty-ninth verse. Placed between contrasting themes, *stabili* and *uenturo*, being and becoming, it parallels and complements *noua progenies* (4.7) and *irrita* (4.14).

From here, the poem moves to a seventh, most difficult reach within poetry: concrete *facta* beyond words but directed by them, and then yet other poetry, describing those deeds. From concord with *omnia* in nature (7.52) the poem rises to a contest with *Pan* in art (7 verses).

The contest with poetry's heroes is an unexampled, symbolic ἀδύνατον, a *summum* reached by repeated assaults: 1-2-7-7-28-7-7. Its language resembles prayer or charm, hinting at realms other than the poetic (4.55-59), beyond vatic, epic, didactic.

Having exhausted, as it were, conventional poetic means, the last lines look beyond words, to a *principium* in which poetic idea and natural, social, human material might coincide: *risu*. The smile is pastoral's hint from and to the world. Pleasure and insight are the poem's intent from *iuvant* to *incipi*, from an idea stirring in poetry at Rome to its confrontation with what is beyond words (4 verses).

Eclogue Four ends, however, with a proverb, not a command, recollecting aristocratic Roman custom and the stories of heroic comedy — divine board and bed. It draws back into a distancing, familiar verbal convention after its miraculous thrust. Yet it rests still at a point slightly higher than the beginning, having caught the heroic version of pastoral (3-56-4). Perhaps, too, it is slightly Messianic, with its paradoxical ἔσχατον, *risu*, that pretends to recast everything, *irrita*, into poetry's form.

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